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**British Colonial Policy on Social Welfare in Malaya:
Child Welfare Services 1946-1957**

by

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy in Social Work

University of Warwick, School of Health and Social Studies

October 2006

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

A. Based on Malay Language (*Bahasa Malaysia*)

ANM	<i>Arkib Negara Malaysia</i> (Malaysia National Archives)
SUK	<i>Setiausaha Kerajaan</i> (State Secretariat)
SUKT	<i>Setiausaha Kerajaan Terengganu</i>
UM	University Malaya
USM	University Sains Malaysia
UUM	University Utara Malaysia

B. Based on English

AO	Archive Officer
AWO	Area Welfare Officer
BMA	British Military Administration
CDW	Colonial Development and Welfare
CO	Colonial Office
CSWAC	Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee
CSWO	Chief Social Welfare Officer
CWC	Central Welfare Council
CYPO	Children and Young Persons Ordinance
CYWSC	Child and Youth Welfare Sub-Committee
DO	District Officer
DSW	Department of Social Welfare
DSWAR	Department of Social Welfare Annual Report
EPU	Economic Planning Unit
EWO	Ex-Welfare officer
FMS	Federated Malay States
FMAR	Federation of Malaya Annual Report
FS	Federal Secretariat

HCO	High Commissioner's Office
HMC	Historical Manuscript Commission
LMS	London Missionary Society
LSE	London School of Economics
MASW	Malaysian Association of Social Workers
MCP	Malayan Communist Party
MCS	Malayan Civil Service
MLSW	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare
MLSWAR	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare Annual Report
MU	Malayan Union
MUAR	Malayan Union Annual Report
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
PRO	Public Record Office
PS	Penang Secretariat
RO	Relief Officer
RWO	Rural Welfare Officer
SCF	Save the Children Fund
SEGPRU	Socio-Economic and General Planning Research Unit
SOAS	School of Oriental and African Studies
SS	State Secretariat
SSD	Social Service Department
SWO	Social Welfare Officer
UFMS	Unfederated Malay States
UK	United Kingdom
US	United States
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UPAM	The United Plantation Association of Malaya
WOB	Welfare Officer for the Blind

GLOSSARY

<i>Adat Perpatih</i>	Matrilineal Negeri Sembilan Malay customary law
<i>Jawi</i>	Arabic alphabet use in Malay writing
<i>Kampong</i>	A village
<i>Madrasah</i>	A modernist Islamic school
<i>Muafakat</i>	A method which called upon all family members to meet together to discuss any problem at hand and collectively decide on the best way to tackle the problem.
<i>Mui tsai</i>	an unmarried Chinese female domestic servant whose age was less than eighteen years
<i>Mukim</i>	An administrative unit within a district
<i>Penghulu</i>	Headmen, administrative head of a <i>mukim</i> or subdistrict
<i>Places of safety</i>	Any institution appointed under Section 34 (a) of the CYPO (1947), that is, an orphanage, hospital, home, institution.
<i>Pondok</i>	A 'hut' school; traditional Islamic education
<i>Quranic school</i>	Quran classes held in a house of a teachers or a <i>surau</i>
<i>Raja</i>	Ruler, prince
<i>Rakyat</i>	The subject class, peasantry, people, citizens
<i>Sultan</i>	Ruler (in Arabic), king of each state
<i>Surau</i>	A building used for prayer, smaller than the mosque
<i>Syaria'</i>	Islamic law
<i>Tok guru</i>	Well-trained Islamic educated teacher of a <i>pondok</i>
<i>Towkay</i>	A wealthy Chinese businessman, trader, shopkeeper
<i>Transferred children</i>	Female children under the age of fourteen years who were living apart from their natural father or mother

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has evolved into its present form through the kind assistance of many people and without their support this quest would have seen no end. I am indebted to Dr. A. Withnall, one of the supervisors during my first year, particularly for her guidance and encouragement during the upgrading process. No words could truly express my endless gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. V. White of the School of Health and Social Studies and Prof. C. Steedman of the History Department, University of Warwick, for their painstaking supervision as I ventured through my quest to reach “the end of the tunnel”. Their careful comments, criticisms, and suggestions were of great value to me.

Moreover, without the scholarship granted by *Jabatan Perkhidmatan Awam Malaysia* and financial assistance from University Utara Malaysia (UUM), the progress of the study would not have been realised (the study would not have been completed). Not forgetting, the Socio-Economic and General Planning Research Unit of the Prime Minister’s Department Malaysia, which made the study in Malaysia possible.

I have incurred debts to many librarians, especially at the Arkib Negara Malaysia, where the bulk of the research was undertaken, as well as at the Department of Social Welfare Resource Room and other local university libraries in Malaysia. I am particularly indebted to the following institutions in the United Kingdom and to the assistance of their staff: the National Archives, Kew; the Rhodes House Library, Oxford; and the Brynmor Jones Library of Hull University. I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to all the informants of this study.

The comments of my nextdoor neighbour - Noel (7 Marriott Road, Coventry, UK) who very kindly did some early proof-reading is also appreciated. Sincere thanks and gratitude goes to Dr. G. Sharpling, Dr. M. Carpenter, Jeanne, and Lennora for their searching comments on drafts and also the many friends I have in England, for sharing the joy and pains of being a doctoral student. I am thankful most of all for their friendship which made me endure a rewarding experience.

My sincere thanks also goes to the UUM’s staff – Associate Prof. Dr. Ahmad Faiz Hamid, Associate Prof. Dr. Mansor Abdullah, Associate Prof. Supt. Azmi Shaari, Dr. Faridahwati, Dr. Nadiyah, Dr. Wan Ab Rahman Khudzri and all my colleagues in the Department of Social Work, Faculty of Human and Social Development, UUM for their moral support during the “hardest” period in my life.

My deepest appreciation and love are for my mother and my father for their prayer and blessing. Every member of my family has been marvelous to me throughout this experience. In addition, I would like to record my gratitude for my beloved husband, Dr. Ruzlan Md. Ali, the person whom I am most indebted to (though both of us were doing the “jobs” [PhDs], but you had made it “first”), for always being there whenever I needed him. Last but not least, to my sons Muhammad Rasyad Razin and Muhammad Fayadh Rizqin for their understanding during the most difficult times that we had in England. I devote this study to both of you.

Doing a PhD is not painless and I can certainly corroborate to this view. Without the help of Allah the Almighty and his truthful guidance, strength and the gifts of patience throughout the period of study, I would have found it impossible to complete this thesis.

Declaration

I certify that this is my own work and it has not been submitted for a degree at another university.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study is to illustrate the extent to which colonial welfare ideas and practices shaped social welfare in Malaysia, with particular reference to child welfare services. In particular, the study explores the scope in which social welfare services were established and developed by the colonial government, the degree of the colonial government's intervention in child welfare services, and the guidelines used by the colonial officials to resolve child welfare issues during the period of 1946-1957.

Midgley's Social Welfare Models considers the role of diffusion of colonial welfare ideas and practices, and the residual conception in the approach to welfare within the context of colonialism.

The study has employed archival materials on British colonial administration in Malaya kept in the UK National Archive and the Malaysian National Archive to illuminate Midgley's Social Welfare Model. Interviews with Malaysian ex-welfare officers who had personal experience of working at the Department of Social Work (DSW) during the British colonial period were also carried out.

The study indicates that, as a contribution to historical and sociological knowledge, children welfare services in Malaya were first organized for immigrant labourers to ensure a regular and reliable supply of healthy workforce. This denotes that the focus of the colonial government was on the exploitation of Malaya's economy, and social welfare issues were peripheral. This standpoint taken by the British colonial government has indeed conformed to the abovementioned welfare model.

The study has also revealed that during the period of 1946-1957, the British made efforts to provide welfare for the people of Malaya with the establishment of DSW in 1946. However, the DSW faced complexity of handling welfare issues, such as children welfare, within a multiethnic society because of the different cultures, values and beliefs that existed. The study also suggests that the needs of Europeans and key workers were the prime concerns of the colonial government for their commercial interests. The study has shown that ideas on welfare from the host country were instituted, although, on some occasions, the government made attempts to adapt these ideas to suit the local circumstances.

The study concludes that Malayan welfare policy enacted by the British colonial officials followed British welfare ideas and accepted the role of voluntary bodies in the provision of welfare to children. Thus, the government took a residual approach to welfare in which welfare services were provided for the needy and the government played a minimalist role in welfare provision. Although the colonial government contributed to the development of child welfare services in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957, the implementation of the services did not follow any specific welfare model and no definite child welfare policy was particularly drawn up for Malaya.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

The Study

Davis, Doling, and Zainal (2000) contend that the colonial government during the immediate post-war period combined efforts with various voluntary organisations to relieve hardships and distress in Malaya.¹ In fact, they argue that ‘The present-day welfare services in Malaysia are the product of these immediate post-war co-operative efforts’ (Davis *et al.*, 2000: 9). The government made such cooperative efforts because of the absence of a traditional system upon which the colonial government could rely on. ‘To a considerable extent the services were based on the ideas of the British welfare system’ (Davis *et al.*, 2000: 9).

This study is concerned with the development of welfare services in Malaya during British colonialism from 1946-1957, during which Malaya was on the verge of achieving its independence from the British. The study is placed within the wider context of Britain’s record on social welfare in her colonies (with particular reference to Malaya), the colonial development and welfare policies in the post-war period and the activities of voluntarism.

This study will analyse the contribution of voluntary organisations and their relationship to the development of social welfare in Malaya. It will also provide detailed

¹ The researcher has confined the term “Malaya” or “Federation of Malaya” to the British colonial period, and the term “Malaysia” to the period since 1963. These two terms are used accordingly in this study. Malaya is also known as “Tanah Melayu” (the Malay Land). No account is given here of Singapore because since the formation of the Malayan Union (MU) in 1946, she was a separate colony. Singapore only joined Malaysia in 1963 and then separated from the latter in 1965 (see Chapter 4).

accounts of relief operations and the nature and characteristics of three children's homes established during the period of study.

The core question of the study is related to the emergence of social services in Malaya during colonialism. The study looks specifically at historical events in relation to the development of child welfare in Malaya. It focuses in particular on social welfare services for children in Malaya. Within the period of study, social welfare services for children appeared to have been patterned after Britain's child welfare services. Nevertheless, no definite child welfare policy was constructed for Malaya during the colonial period.

The study has analysed documentary and archival materials stored in Britain and Malaysia between 2001 and 2004, supplemented by data from interviews with five key informants who worked in the Malayan Department of Social Welfare (DSW) during the final stages of colonialism. Evidence from the data revealed a detailed shaping of services in the period of study.

This chapter will discuss social welfare policy, the significance of child welfare services, provide the background and aims of the British colonial policy towards social welfare services in Malaya, elaborate on the period prior to independence, and define key terms. The chapter then sets out to argue the significance of the research, followed by an outline of subsequent chapters.

Social Welfare Policy and Significance of Child Welfare Services

DiNitto (2000) views social welfare policy as the position of government to act, or not to act on social issues or problems on behalf of society. The government's action

‘affects the quality of life of its people’ (DiNitto, 2000: 2). Thus, the maintenance of the well-being of the society is the domain of social welfare policy. DiNitto (2000) further argues that one of the real political problems in social welfare involves the role of government in attending to issues posed by social problems in the society.

Many policy areas are encompassed under the rubric of social welfare policy. DiNitto (2000) points out that the boundaries of social welfare policy are indeed fuzzy. Nevertheless, it includes major government programmes in social services, including child protective services, family preservation services, and daycare and preschool education for children (DiNitto, 2000). Thus, drawing upon the viewpoint of DiNitto (2000), the actions and services the colonial government took regarding child welfare in Malaya during the period of study is encompassed within social welfare policy.

Children are exposed to a variety of social problems that affect their needs and well-being. Consequently, their lives, their present well-being, and their future life chances are considerably shaped by social policy. The fact remains that children are our most important resource, and social policy should protect them from harm and enable their safe and healthy development. The years of childhood are of particular significance for a child’s future development. Thus, whatever happens to the developmental process during these formative years is of concern as it may promote, interfere with or adversely affect the kind of development of a child which is considered desirable.

With regards to the term “child welfare”, in a United Nations report, the term includes all types of services designed to benefit children in the fields of health, nutrition, education and social welfare (CO 859/373). Meyer (1985: 102) argues that

child welfare 'is primarily a social institution, underwritten by the public to meet certain needs that promote the welfare of children'. She advocates that 'without this institution society would have to invent something to care for its dependent, neglected, disordered, and abused children' (Meyer, 1985: 102). Hill (2000) argues that historically child welfare has provided supplementary or substitute parental care for children. It covers a range of services provided to assist children and families who have faced a major difficulty affecting the well-being, care or control of the child (Hill, 2000). Thus, undoubtedly it also includes the protection and promotion of their health and education.

Gil (1985) asserts that child care (or child welfare) policy and practice refers to a specific field of policy activities, namely, those policies, programmes and legislations which guide the child welfare field. These activities are 'usually provided on a non-profit basis under the sponsorship of private or voluntary organization' (Gil, 1985: 31). In fact, since the seventeenth century in Europe, these services ranged from 'almshouses, boarding out, institutions, foster families, adoption, and group care to day care and preventive work with families and children in their own homes' (Meyer, 1985: 102) or away from home (Hill, 2000). These services were provided by the extended family, child-care staff in institutions, and social workers. Thus, it can be argued that 'Child welfare services are concerned with providing direct services to children in which serious problems are identified, and also with influencing public policy to improve the lives of all children' (Downs, 2004: 34).

The discussion by Gil (1985), Meyer (1985), Hill (2000) and Downs (2004) above pertains to the welfare of children within the Western context. Scholars who intend to learn about the history and development of social welfare in Malaysia or child

welfare in particular may find it rather difficult to get appropriate documented sources, since reference materials are not readily available. For instance, whilst in the UK the literature and research work on social welfare services and development are plentiful and continually being added to, this scenario is not true in Malaysia.

The researcher decided to focus on children for her study because, apart from being one of the DSW's targeted groups (Kandiah, 1992), services for children is an under-researched topic in Malaysia. Until the time of writing there is a dearth in Malaysian research and literature concerning the origin of social welfare services in the country. Although some studies suggest that social welfare in Malaysia was originally moulded by the British colonial policy (DSW, undated; Davis *et al.*, 2000), to date no research has been undertaken to explain or ascertain this proposition. Thus, this study has the intention of making an original and substantive contribution to the literature on the origin of social welfare in Malaysia.

To point out a case, the DSW, for instance, published a book on its fiftieth anniversary, in an attempt to capture moments in the colourful history of the Department (DSW, undated), but did not detail social welfare services rendered during this period. The collection and evaluation of related data since the Department's establishment have not been studied intensely, despite the vitality of this information in describing the trends and dynamics of those services. The lack of intense study could result in misinformation about the knowledge of social welfare development in Malaysia. For example, the researcher found an obvious mistake in the introduction page that stated that the first Chief Social Welfare Officer (CSWO) appointed in 1946

was Dr C. P. Rawson (1946-1952) (see Chapter 5 and Appendix 4). He was in fact appointed as the CSWO in 1947.

To understand social welfare policy, it is necessary to learn about some of the social, economic, and political experiences that have shaped, developed and changed social welfare policy (DiNitto, 2000). Conceding to this view, the researcher explored the current study from a historical perspective. Understanding of the evolution, structure and role of the state and other agencies involved in welfare provision is a necessary pre-requisite to better understand the development of social welfare in Malaya. Based on both archival materials and secondary sources, the current research will comprehensively analyse the development of welfare services, and in particular, the emergence and origin of child welfare services in Malaya.

Discussion from a historical context is necessary to understand how welfare provisions within Malaysia have developed. The researcher explored British colonial responsibilities and capabilities to meet post-war social crisis. Attention is paid to the ways in which British administrators identified certain differential features presented by the three major ethnic groups in Malaya, that is, the Malays, Chinese and Indians. In fact, it was during the British rule that the Chinese, Indians and others migrated to Malaya as labourers, particularly to work in the mining and rubber industries (see Chapter 4). Hence, it is important to consider the issue of welfare services in Malaya within the context of a multi-ethnic society.

The future of child welfare within a country is dependent largely on policies and programmes that are designed to protect and serve children. As Rose (1990: 121) asserts, 'In different ways, at different times, and by many different routes varying from

one society to another, the health, welfare, and rearing of children have been linked in thought and practice to the destiny of the nation and the responsibilities of the state'. Considering Rose's (1990) viewpoint, the formulation and implementation of effective future child welfare policies is the responsibility of the next generation of child welfare workers and/or policymakers. For social welfare policymakers, the current study will be a significant reference that explains the development of welfare provisions from the colonial to the present day. Likewise, to better understand how the present day welfare services for children operate, it is helpful to consider the past. This knowledge of the genesis of child welfare could be useful in improving services and meeting the demands on present services as a result of changes in Malaysia's social patterns. The study of children and the state provision of social welfare within the Malayan context is seen as significant to establish not only the facts pertaining to social welfare in Malaya but also whether or not the implementation of child welfare policies in the former colony follows particular features of the British welfare provision.

Thus, the findings of the study will raise issues that could be explored further by researchers. Future researchers, especially those intending to adopt a historical method, will find this study useful insofar as it alerts them to possible issues that they might face when collecting data from archives, and thus work to avoid facing similar experiences.

Study Interest and Personal Concern

The focus for this thesis started when the researcher began her career as a lecturer at *Universiti Utara Malaysia* (UUM) in 1990 after graduating in the field of Malaysian History in her first degree. Southeast Asian Studies was chosen as the field for her

master's degree in 1992 in the UK. On completion of her master's degree, the researcher was appointed to teach a core course in UUM called *Kenegaraan Malaysia* (Malaysian Studies), a subject compulsory for all UUM undergraduates. This course is taught in line with government's policy to promote awareness of Malaysian history among university students. The government views it as necessary for every Malaysian citizen to understand the historical process and development of a multiethnic nation. At that time, social work, as a course of study was not offered in UUM.

In UUM, the researcher's focus of research and writing was more on issues related to pre-independence period to post-independence period, including discussions on current government policies. In the course of doing this, the researcher has the opportunity and has been exposed to several current studies related to the direct impact of colonial rule on both the people and the country in general. The researcher continued to teach the aforementioned course until she left UUM to further her study at the doctoral level.

In 1997, when UUM introduced the Social Work Programme for undergraduates,² the researcher was appointed to teach a course called History and Development of Social Welfare Services. She was also appointed as one of the lecturers to be attached to the Social Work Programme in the university.³ The subject of History and Development of Social Welfare Services is one of the core subjects in the Social Work Programme, designed specifically to impart knowledge about the country's

² Since late 2003, this programme was offered at the Department of Social Work in the Faculty of Human and Social Development.

³ Compared to the other universities in Malaysia, UUM is the only university that offers a programme core course for the Bachelor's Degree of Social Work Management (B.Soc.Work Mgt. [Hons]). Generally, students at UUM have to take three core courses, the so-called university core, faculty core and programme core, within their three years of study.

history of social welfare from various perspectives, such as the state's social policy and the role of DSW and non-governmental organisations in welfare provision. Teaching that particular course was, in fact, the researcher's first experience and involvement in social work education at the university. However, the lack of data and materials concerning the history of social work was keenly felt by the researcher, particularly when preparing teaching materials. This lack of materials contributed significantly to the difficulty in imparting knowledge to students. Due to her intense interest in this new field, and since the researcher had an academic background in the history of Malaysia, she was assigned to search for teaching materials for this new course.

That same year, the researcher was granted a sabbatical leave for nine months and she chose to be placed at the DSW in Kedah, a city in North Malaysia. While being there, the researcher had the opportunity to research at the Kedah State Archive. However, some of the reports on social welfare were not in the Kedah archive and this prompted the need to visit the Malaysian National Archives's (Arkib Negara Malaysia [ANM]) head office in Kuala Lumpur (see Chapter 3). It was while working in ANM that the researcher began to develop an interest in doing a study using archival materials.

Before embarking on her doctoral study, the researcher had written several publications on topics particularly pertaining to the history of Malaysia and social work-related issues. The researcher was also involved in researching the experiences of the elderly living in a *pondok* ("hut"). Although the interest in social work research had already been cultivated, the researcher had not focussed on children's welfare at that time.

The researcher's first experience in undertaking research on children was during her involvement in a study entitled, *Growing up in residential care: A study of children's homes in Malaysia* in 2001 (Salma, Fuziah, Jusmawati dan Noor Azizah, 2005).⁴ She was assigned to gather information and write about the historical evolution of children's homes in Malaysia. The task prompted the need to look into archival materials because no previous studies had been conducted on social welfare policy, the welfare programme and the rationale for activities implemented during the colonial period that is, from 1946-1957. Involvement in this project not only formed the impetus for the researcher's deep interest in studying the services provided by the DSW but it also became the basis for the researcher's study towards PhD.

As the researcher continued to frequent the Kedah DSW and the DSW head office in Kuala Lumpur and gather data for the research report, the researcher had the opportunity to meet the Director of DSW,⁵ the administrators and research team sections of the DSW and the ANM in Kuala Lumpur. The researcher inquired about the policy for children's welfare during the early establishment of the DSW. According to the Director of the DSW, the DSW currently has no record or documented information on this and he suggested that perhaps this information could be obtained from the ANM head office in Kuala Lumpur. To his knowledge, no documentation on how the British introduced welfare services or child welfare policy during 1946-1957 exists. His

⁴ The research is about children's experiences living in six institution-type of children's homes and five family-type homes known as *Rumah Tunas Harapan* (the home of hope). While the institution-type children's homes are financed directly by the DSW, *Rumah Tunas Harapan* were built through the financial grants, co-operation and support by corporate and private sectors, local communities as well as state government and other government agencies (Salma *et al.*, 2005).

⁵ Due to the newness of the course, Sayed Rahman, the Director of the DSW at that time, was frequently invited to give mass lectures to students undertaking the social work programme.

comment is thus indicative of a gap in the literature pertaining to children's welfare services, at least, within the Malaysian context.

Likewise, the DSW Director believed that most of the original sources applicable to this study are kept in the UK archives especially review of historical materials on colonial government policies, the majority of which have not been used for systematic research purposes. He keenly suggested that the researcher should embark on her PhD. in this area and should visit the archives in the UK to ascertain the origins of the development of child welfare services in Malaysia. Upon further investigation into pertinent archival materials, it was discovered that some of the files were not available. When this matter was brought to the attention of the ANM research section, they agreed with the DSW Director, that, perhaps, more files would be available at the UK archive. The views of these key personnel on the availability and abundance of these materials in the UK prompted the researcher to further her study in the UK.

Subsequently, it was during her involvement with the DSW and its archive that the researcher began to consider these questions: If the DSW was first established in 1946, how did its establishment come about? During the period before Malaysia's independence, were there specific social welfare and child welfare policies the British had drafted for Malaya? If there were, what was the rationale and method of implementation used? These are a few questions that the current study addresses.

Study Aims

The current study has three overarching aims:

- i. to determine the social, political and economic circumstances that triggered the emergence of social welfare services in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957.
- ii. to analyse the British colonial development and welfare policy during the period of 1946-1957.
- iii. to examine the British colonial policy on child welfare services in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957.

Theoretical Framework

This study examines social welfare practices for the Malayan population during British colonialism. It investigates the application of colonial ideas and practices of social welfare during the period of 1946-1957, and the way in which these ideas and practices were diffused in the provision of welfare. Furthermore, this study aims to examine the colonial government approach to welfare, in particular child welfare services instituted in Malaya during the period of study.

Midgley (1984a, 1987a, 1987b, 1995), a scholar of Third World social work, social policy and social welfare, points out the lack of research on the origins of social welfare, social work and social policy in the developing nations. Midgley's views are considered in this study because he is a prominent commentator who has copiously worked on the impact of colonialism on welfare provision in developing countries in Asia. The "residual model" which characterises the approach of the colonial

government towards social welfare provisions, and the “diffusion theory” (Midgley, 1984a, 1987a, 1987b, 1997), which examines the extent of the application of colonial social welfare ideas and practices, forms the guiding framework for this study and is discussed further in Chapter 2. The current study also discusses the extent to which the state shares the responsibility of child welfare with other agencies, that is, missionaries and voluntary bodies.

The Period Under Study

Malaya was a British colony from 1786 until 1941 when it then came under Japanese occupation which lasted until 1945. In 1945, it was ruled once again by the British until its independence in 1957 (see Chapter 4). The study encompasses a time period of approximately twelve years, from 1946 to 1957, which the researcher refers to as the period of transition to independence because this was an era in which Malaya experienced a change in the course of governmental administration. Within this period, the basic structure of the social welfare system in Malaya was laid down by the colonial administrators. The British, during this time, faced a different situation within Malaya from what they had previously experienced prior to the Japanese occupation (see Chapter 4). The British now had the responsibility of tackling the issues of the aftermath of the war (Davis *et al.*, 2000). Thus, the researcher would like to examine whether the colonial government’s establishment of social welfare services was a direct response to the horrific conditions experienced during the Japanese occupation in Malaya.

The year 1946 is significant for this study because apart from marking the beginning of the British re-occupation of Malaya after World War Two, the DSW was established in Malaya as a major government agency authorised to provide social welfare services. The 1946-1957 time frame also covers a significant development in social policy with regard to children; for instance, child legislation and education have their origins in the early twentieth century (see Chapters 4 and 9). The circumstances of the country's social welfare within this twelve-year period provide the major themes and the core issues for analysis in this study. The study has taken 1957 as a terminating point because within this year, Malaya had its independence and entered a new period of administration.

Definition of Terms

Child

There seem to be inconsistencies in the definition of "child" as far as age range is concerned. Various legislations in Malaya used the term "child" but references to the age of "child" differed according to each legislation purpose and scope.⁶ For example, according to the Children and Young Persons Ordinance (CYPO) of 1947, the interpretation of the word "child" is twofold, that is, "child" and "young person".⁷ The term "child" means:

⁶ Even though Reddy (1992) and Shu (1989) in their work refer to the legislations as "Acts", throughout this study the researcher will use the word "Ordinance" instead, a similar term used in the material found in the archives. However, in the archives the term "Ordinance" is also used interchangeably with "Enactment". The term Ordinance was used in the Straits Settlements, while the term Enactment was applied to the Federated Malay States (FMS).

⁷ "Young person" means – (a) in the case of a person employed or engaged to take part in any public entertainment, a person who has attained the age of sixteen years and is under the age of sixteen years;

- (a) in any case of a person employed or engaged to take part in any public entertainment, a person under the age of sixteen years; and
- (b) in the case of a transferred child, a female under the age of fourteen years; and
- (c) in other cases, a person under the age of fourteen years (P/PEG1 CYPO (1947), Section 2 (1)).

In the Adoption Ordinance (1952), the term “child” refers to an ‘unmarried person under the age of twenty-one and includes a female under that age who has been divorced’ (Adoption Ordinance (1952)).

Throughout this study, the term “child” means a person under the age of sixteen years (RCP/WEL/179/47) who needs protection and care for his/her welfare, has no parent (is an orphan) or guardian or whose parent or guardian is unfit to exercise care and guardianship or who has been the victim of a number of offences such as abandonment, ill treatment, neglect, appears to be destitute, or who has been used for begging or receiving alms (RCP/WEL/179/47; P/PEG1 CYPO (1947); CO 828/5). It also encompasses any child living in children’s homes. Although the category of “child” may also be extended to “young person”, “youth” and “juvenile”, the researcher has tried to avoid using materials related to these three latter groups.

and (b) in any other case, a person who has attained the age of fourteen years and is under the age of eighteen years’ (P/PEG 1 CYPO (1947)).

Child welfare

This study focusses on children across all ethnic groups (Malays, Chinese and Indians) and genders. Within the study, the term “child welfare” relates to those services for children rendered by the DSW after the Second World War from the perspectives of social welfare, health and education. It encompasses the services provided in three children’s homes, namely the Tun Abdul Aziz Boys’ Home, the Serendah Boys’ Home, and the Selangor Children’s Home. It also takes into consideration the measures undertaken by the British colonial government to restore and provide the needed services to children, refugees and displaced persons, the survivors of the Burma-Siam railway labour force, the handicapped (blind), delinquent children, detainees, the children of prisoners, lepers, immigrants, orphans, women and girls, “mui tsai” (an unmarried Chinese female domestic servant whose age was less than eighteen years), and “transferred children” (female children under the age of fourteen years who were living apart from their natural father or mother) (P/PEG1 CYPO 1947)).

Notably, the services for children undertaken by the government overlap with those provided by many voluntary associations, such as the Red Cross Society, the Salvation Army, the Central Welfare Council (CWC) and so forth. Thus, for this reason, wherever possible, the relevant activities of other government agencies involved, such as the Labour Department, the Health Department, the Education Department, and voluntary agencies that support and maintain services for children are also included.

The term child welfare refers to legislative acts, namely CYPO (1947), the Adoption Ordinance (1952), Places of Safety Rules (1950), and Mui Tsai (1933). It also refers to training for social welfare workers.

Definite child welfare policy

The term “definite child welfare policy” refers to policy statements in the forms of specific document constructed by the colonial government as an implementation guideline in child welfare matters during the final stages of British colonialism.

Acceptable and non-acceptable terminology

The archival materials contain a number of terms that were acceptable during the period of study (1946-1957). However, in the UK, these terms as shown in Table 1.1, are no longer acceptable.

Unacceptable (Appears in the archival materials)	Acceptable (Current terminology)
Handicapped	People with physical disabilities
Crippled	People with physical or mobility disabilities
The blind	People with visual disabilities

Table 1.1: Unacceptable and acceptable terminologies

The researcher, however, maintains the use of the original terminology as they appeared in the archival materials used.

Research Questions

The study addresses three research questions. They are:

- i. To what extent were social welfare services in Malaya established and developed by the colonial government during the period of 1946-1957?

- ii. To what extent did the colonial government intervene in child welfare services in Malaya?
- iii. Was there a definite policy of child welfare drawn up by the colonial government for Malaya during the period of 1946-1957?

By tackling these questions, the main issues in children's welfare services and the growth and development of social welfare services during British colonialism in Malaya are also examined.

Structure of the Thesis

In addition to the current chapter, there are nine other chapters within the study.

The relevant literature used for the study is reviewed in Chapter 2. It examines several conceptual and general frameworks of social welfare. Relevant theories and models of social welfare within the context of developing countries and colonialism are also considered. The chapter then focuses on the notions of residualism and diffusion of social welfare. Issues on child welfare, the primary concern of this study, are accordingly highlighted in this chapter.

Chapter 3 describes the methodology, the rationale for the procedural approach, and the research methods used. This chapter details the stages for conducting historical research, the data collection procedures, the analysis of data, as well as some methodological issues that have emerged from the study. Procedures for gaining access to archive material and carrying out the fieldwork are also provided in this chapter.

As indicated in the title, the focus of this thesis is on the years 1946-1957. This is the key period in the commencement and expansion of British colonial welfare provisions in Malaya. To understand the establishment and development fully, it is necessary to look at the background of Malaya around and during this period. Thus, Chapter 4 investigates the development of social welfare services within this period. It illustrates the demography, early history, and the social structure of Malaya. This chapter also explains the impact of colonisation on political and economic structure and the significant changes that affected social welfare provision.

Chapter 5 centres on the beginning of state welfare provision within Malaya. The main component of this chapter is to elucidate the reasons for establishing the Chinese Protectorate and the Labour Department. It also outlines the establishment of the DSW. The chapter also discusses post-war social welfare policy and constraints to welfare work faced by the DSW during its establishment years.

The Colonial Office in London was responsible for the planning and development of welfare policy in its colonies. This is examined in Chapter 6, particularly within the post-war period. The discussion centres on the establishment of the Social Services Department in the Colonial Office, Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committees (CSWAC), Child and Youth Welfare Sub-Committee (CYWSC), and the Colonial Development and Welfare Act as a mechanism for implementing social welfare in the colonies.

The detailed analyses of child welfare services within the period of 1946-1957 are divided into three parts and are presented within three key chapters (7, 8, and 9). Part I (Chapter 7) examines child welfare services arising from the end of the Second

World War. Based on the availability of materials collected, other services provided by the DSW are also examined. Part II (Chapter 8) concentrates on the growth and development of children's homes. It also considers three children's homes administered by DSW. Relevant legislation and the training of social welfare workers' developed by the DSW are examined in Part III (Chapter 9). Data for analysis within these three chapters are mostly drawn from the available archival materials and semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 10, the final chapter, links the findings of the study, which concludes that, although Malayan welfare resembled British (practices) policy, there was no strong evidence to suggest that there was a definite British policy of child welfare in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957. The chapter also discusses the study's contribution to knowledge, the implications of the findings on social welfare within Malaysia, the limitations of the study, as well as recommendations and suggestions for further research that may arise out of this study.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Introduction

Colonial administration involved a relationship with the colony that implied the existence of administrative, legislative and social control (MacPherson, 1982). Malaya experienced colonialism that stretches back to the sixteenth century. Colonialism is an appropriate and useful context for the analysis of historical processes linked to the growth of social welfare services in Malaya. However, it is not the intention of this chapter to expound upon Malaya's experience of colonialism, and social development. Rather, the chapter will take as its point of discussion the characteristics within Britain, the coloniser, the experience of colonialism, the emergence of welfare, and the state's approach to social welfare within Malaya.

The chapter will firstly discuss the concept of "social welfare" before examining the notion of social welfare history. The chapter will then consider the concept of social policy and discuss this in relation to the welfare state. It will examine social welfare and social policy before considering the welfare system in the East and Southeast Asian region.

The state plays a significant role in welfare and this will also be discussed in this chapter. A model is needed to guide the analysis of the colonial patterns of social welfare provision in this study. Thus, this chapter will look at the models of social welfare with a particular focus on Midgley's residual-diffusion framework. The chapter will also highlight various facets of social welfare and colonialism before focusing on

social welfare in colonial Malaya. Issues in child welfare, which constitute the central focus of this study, will be presented before the chapter conclusion.

Social Welfare

In most English-speaking countries – the UK, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and the United States – the terms social welfare and social service came into existence shortly before the outbreak of the First World War, following earlier notions of charity and correction, philanthropy, and poor relief (Chambers, 1986; Leiby, 1995; Graham and Al-Krenawi, 2001). Debate on the relationship between social welfare and other disciplines still continues (Zastrow, 2000). Nevertheless, it is appropriate within the current study to provide a conceptual definition of the term “social welfare” because understanding of its characteristics is necessary to enable analysis of its development.

The term welfare has been defined from different points of view and at different levels of abstraction. In its simplest meaning, particularly among laypeople, it refers to something in the form of money, food or clothing that is given to unfortunate people (Sauber, 1983: 184), and is negatively associated with poverty. The definition of “welfare” emphasises the importance of meeting the well-being of individuals and the satisfaction of an individual’s needs (Sainsbury, 1979; George and Page, 1995).

With regards to the term “social welfare”, there is no single, precise agreed-upon definition among scholars (Sainsbury, 1979; Sauber, 1983; Skidmore, Thackeray, and Farley (1994); George and Page, 1995; Zastrow, 2000). The term is often confused and sometimes used synonymously with the terms “social work” and “social policy”. In fact, social welfare has a broad definition, covering a variety of objectives in the wide

areas of social services. It includes 'the goals of the helping professions and to the occupations practiced by people working in social agencies who have not earned the professional master of social work degree' (Americana, 1987: 139).

Zastrow (2000) argues that social welfare is a comprehensive phrase, encompassing social work, public welfare and other related programs and activities. He believes that almost all social workers are working in the field of social welfare since social welfare and social work are primarily related at the level of practice.

Thus, in the viewpoint of Zastrow (2000), social welfare is also related to the well-being of individuals. If societies are to enjoy a satisfactory condition of social well-being, individuals need to have 'adequate levels of education, health care, harmonious social interaction, social security [as well as] affection and personal development' (Spicker, 2000: 73). In other words, the concept of social welfare is perceived as an approach to meet basic human needs (Mishra, 1987). Midgley (1997: 4) relates the term social welfare to 'a state or condition of human well-being that exists when social problems are managed, when human needs are met, and when social opportunities are maximized', which implies a necessary engagement with the concept of human needs.

However, the way in which needs are provided and obtained depends on the society people live in. Titmuss (1958) conjectures that the situation in which different kinds of needs arise and are recognized as "needs" has changed. He further states that:

Not only are the “needs” and “situations” different but they are differently seen. ... this period has witnessed the emergence and growth of those forms of state intervention which, by custom and common approval, have come to be called “the social services”. The services themselves developed in scope and range, the term “social service” has come to be applied to more and more areas of collective provision for certain “needs”.

(Titmuss, 1958: 40)

Conferring with Titmuss (1958), Doyal and Gough (1991) and Erskine (2002) contend that needs are socially and historically determined, differ at different times, in different societies and in different cultures. Needs also refer to the sorts of problems which people experience and the response to a problem has to be seen in the context of the society in which the problem occurred (Spicker, 1995). State intervention, in the form of “social services”, began to develop in order to meet certain needs of the people. This state intervention is discussed later in this chapter.

This study examines social welfare and the role of the state during the colonial administration. Thus, it involves looking into the history of social welfare. The term “social welfare history” is subsequently discussed.

Social Welfare History

Social welfare [history] is a comprehensive (Leiby, 1995; Zastrow, 2000; Graham and Al-Krenawi, 2001) and ‘omnibus term used to cover a wide range of activities in society’ (Butterworth and Holman, 1975: 14). Chambers (1986) argues, initially that welfare history simply documented the care for dependent groups. Later the field developed in concentration to include ‘such diverse topics as poor laws, public assistance, benevolent societies, orphanages, almshouses, homes for the physically and

mentally handicapped' [and also] 'includes, but is not limited to, the history and antecedents of social policies' (Chambers, 1986: 407). Social welfare history may be considered to have a close association with social history, insofar as it usually relates to understanding the lives of the people concerned and not just the society's political, economic, social, religious, and cultural elites (Hokenstad, Khinduka, and Midgley, 1992).

The arguments of Hokenstad *et al.* (1992) and Chambers (1986) provide justification to include the current study in the domain of social welfare history as it discusses social welfare in Malaya during the post-war colonial context and the final stages of colonialism. In the current study, the researcher also has considered the decisions and choices that have helped determine the social welfare course of action. This course of action is usually guided by the adopted policy. It is often assumed that social policy is concerned with the problems of the welfare state (Livingstone, 1969). The next section discusses the term "social policy" and the welfare state.

Social Policy and the Welfare State

Jones (1985), one of the UK's leading scholars in social policy, views social welfare policy as one type of social policy. Some scholars have approached policy and welfare institutionally, by focussing on specific areas that were provided by the state to the whole of its population. Instances of focused areas encompass education, social security, welfare and health services, and housing provision (Cook, 1985): the kinds of 'activities which denote the welfare state' (Burden, 1998: xi).

Burden (1998) and Baldock, Manning, Miller, and Vickerstaff (1999) view the term “social policy” as a field of study which refers to the forms and extent of state intervention in redistributing resources amongst its citizens to attain a welfare objective. These forms of welfare involve ‘plans, strategies and approaches that governments adopt when deciding what to do about issues and problems that affect social welfare’ (Walsh, Stephens, and Moore, 2000: 7).

Social welfare and the emergence of the welfare state has been a common feature of advanced countries in the West. Briggs (1961: 228) defines welfare state as ‘a state in which organized power is deliberately used, through politics and administration, to modify the play of market forces’. This is achieved through three principal elements. The first is by guaranteeing individuals and families a minimum income. The second is by enabling individuals and families to meet certain social contingencies which can lead to crisis, and the third is by ensuring that all citizens are offered the best standards of social services. The third element embraces the concepts of universalism and “optimum” standards, which constitute the distinctive characteristics of a welfare state.

The term “welfare state” refers not only to a narrow range of social services, but also to a society in which government is expected to provide a wide range of economic and social services which affect the welfare of its citizens (Lowe, 1993: 13). According to Spicker (2000: 146), the term is used to convey the ‘ideal model of provision which is provided comprehensively for every citizen’ by the government. Thus, the main theme suggested within the definitions of welfare state suggested by Lowe (1993) and Spicker (2000) is the universality of welfare provision of the government ‘to cover all its citizens’ (Midgley, 1995: 48).

In the case of Britain, William Beveridge has often been referred to as the architect of a “welfare state” (Walsh *et al.*, 2000). As a result of the Beveridge report regarding pre-war and wartime conditions of poverty, low educational standards and adverse social conditions, a welfare provision called “from cradle to grave” was introduced in Britain to support financial burden of families with children (Bruce, 1966). The economic theories of John Maynard Keynes, who believed in economic and social intervention through planning, were widely adopted and provided justification for the state intervention in the economy and society (George and Page, 1995; Midgley, 1995). Thus, during the British colonialism in Malaya, Britain was practising a universal approach to welfare in which provision of benefits covered every citizen. Whether or not the British had applied a similar approach of welfare provision people in Malaya partly constitutes the focus of the current study.

Social Welfare and Social Policy

The 1980s saw a growing awareness among various researchers of international (that is, not necessarily confined to Europe) issues in their studies, including the development of frameworks for social welfare and social policy. Gosta Esping-Andersen’s (1990) book, *The Three Worlds of Welfare*, provides the most influential framework for characterising welfare systems in Europe. In the viewpoint of Esping-Andersen, ‘issues of de-commodification, social stratification, and employment are keys to a welfare state’s identity’ (1990: 2-3). Labour as a commodity ‘has a market value that can be bought and sold’ (Midgley, 1997: 94). The de-commodification of labour provides a functional criterion for determining the extent of governmental intervention in meeting

their citizens' social needs. The role of de-commodification behind the struggle of the working-class towards a just society is eminent in the theory 'that de-commodification is an important, if not central, goal behind the process of working-class power mobilization' (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 129).

After studying variations in international social rights and welfare-state stratification and having found that the arrangements between state, market and the family are qualitatively different, Esping-Andersen clustered these variations into three 'regime-types' (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 26). The first is the "liberal" welfare state, involving nations such as the US, Canada and Australia, in which '[B]enefits cater mainly to a clientele of low-income, usually working-class, state dependents' (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 26). The second is the 'conservative and strongly corporatist' welfare state, existing in Austria, France, Germany, and Italy. Consequently '[W]hat predominated was the preservation of status differential; rights, therefore, were attached to class and status' (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27). The third regime-type is the 'social democratic' regime-type, such as in Scandinavia (Midgley, 1997), whereby 'in these nations, social democracy was clearly the dominant force behind social reform' (Esping-Andersen, 1990: 27).

The researcher views that the Esping-Andersen model would not be applicable to the current study because, as Kwon (1997) argues, it is a European historical product that cannot easily be applied to nations with different historical and political backgrounds. Moreover, Esping-Andersen's study is also confined to the 1980s. Furthermore, its application to all western countries is not possible. This has been pointed out by Davis *et al.* (2000), who argue that Esping-Andersen's three worlds are

East and Southeast Asian Welfare System

Because of their remarkable economic achievement, East and Southeast Asian countries have attracted considerable attention. When European scholars began to look into East Asian social welfare systems, they found that East Asian governments were not spending very much on welfare. By the 1990s, several studies attempted to analyse East and Southeast Asian welfare systems (e.g., Lin, 1991; Jones, 1993; Goodman and Peng, 1996; Goodman, White, and Kwon, 1997; Kwon, 1997; Doling and Jones Finer, 2001).

An attempt was made by Goodman and Peng (1996) to place the East Asian welfare systems into a welfare regime model among mainly Chinese-speaking countries, comprising Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and South Korea. These countries are normally referred to as the 'four little tigers' (Midgley, 1986: 225). Japan is also included as a country with low public spending compared to the UK, especially in sectors such as child benefits, housing, and personal social services. Jones (1993) believes that East Asian welfare systems share similarities with conservative-corporatist European welfare regimes, but she also believes that they do so 'without [Western-style] worker participation, subsidiarity without the Church, solidarity without equality, laissez-faire without libertarianism' (Jones, 1993: 214). The "little tigers", which differ somewhat from those of Western welfare states, 'make up [their] "own brand" of welfare states' (Jones, 1993: 199).

Elsewhere in Asia, the "Confucian values", which have major significance in daily lives, are 're-appreciated and publicised as a vital key to social stability and good order' (Jones, 1993; Doling and Jones Finer, 2001: 299). These values and attitudes originating from the legacy of Confucianism need consideration because they affect the

way the state operates and sanctions the expansion of programmes perceived to oppose values of mutual support, filial piety, social harmony and hard work (Tang, 1996).

Values, customs, culture and beliefs are still strong among East Asian people and many still refer to private support from relatives for social services (Goodman, White and Kwon, 1997). Additionally, the central role of family is evident within these Asian societies (Walker and Wong, 2005). Asian families are an important source of assistance, which is in the form of work, cash and kind (Gough, 2000a), and 'family responsibility obviates the need for extensive government social welfare intervention' (Midgley and Chow, 2004: 2). As long as the kinship network is maintained, it remains a strong part of the welfare system. In industrial societies, social welfare systems have been developed for the purpose of replacing the functions of families, relatives or religious groups in supporting human needs which existed as the result of industrialization.

Some of the East and Southeast Asian countries were once colonised by European powers. The social welfare within the context of colonialism is discussed later in this chapter. The East Asian welfare systems were mostly created after the Second World War, and were, among other things, intended to help overcome social issues that emerged during the process of independence and during the process of moving from an agriculture-based to an industry-based country. The origins and development of modern social welfare in non-Western societies have been somewhat different from those in the West because most East Asian countries are only "beginning" to experience social changes that come with the process of becoming industrialised (Lin, 1991).

Research into social welfare in the East and Southeast Asian region has drawn extensively on Western approaches to characterise and classify the social welfare programme within this region's political, economic, social and cultural context. Unlike the European social welfare programmes, welfare policies in the East and Southeast Asian region have not been introduced against a background of threats from the working class (Kwon, 1997), but as a reflection of what has been necessary for the state to develop their own economic growth.

A number of recent contributors (e.g., Gough, 2000a, 2000b; Hort and Kuhnle, 2000 and M. Ramesh, 2001) have begun to include countries within the Southeast Asian region in their work, such as Thailand, Indonesia, Philippines, Singapore and the other "little tigers", Hong Kong and Taiwan. These authors provide detailed information about social security, health and education policies. In seeking to discover the primary determinants of welfare provision in the region, however, the studies did not look at programmes specifically for children nor did they study the origin of social welfare in Malaya which is the concern of the current study. Doling and Omar's (2000) first work on social welfare, which involves writings of a group of academic researchers from Malaysia and the UK, purport to compare the development of social welfare in Britain and Malaysia. However, the writings focus more on current issues in health care, education and social security. Although Doling and Omar (2000) discuss the evolution of welfare policies in these two countries, children's welfare in Malaysia has not been thoroughly researched. In their latest study, Doling and Omar (2002: 33) argue that the state role in Malaysia has been 'mainly as regulator with much of the funding and benefits related directly to contributions made from personal income'. They further

view that the welfare system in Malaysia ‘ensures that individual welfare is tied closely to family and group support’ (Doling and Omar, 2002: 33).

State responsibility can be identified as conforming either to a “provider” or to a “regulator” model (Kwon, 1997). In the regulator model, Kwon views that the delivery of social welfare may be entirely private, and for the social welfare system to be valid, financial resources from the government are not a necessary condition. In the provider model, one way for the government to function effectively as a provider is by imposing heavy taxes on the people. This will inevitably cause them to demand efficient and commensurate social services because a great portion of their income or assets is being channelled towards the system. The government has to manage and sustain its role as provider to meet the demands of the public. Kwon (1997) stresses that in most countries today social welfare systems contain different combinations of the state as provider or regulator. Thus, drawing upon the aforementioned assertions of George and Page (1995), Midgley (1995) and Kwon (1997), this study intends to examine whether or not the government played an important role as the main provider of welfare in Malaya within the period of 1946-1957.

Social policy undertook ‘historical studies to document the evolution and functioning of the social services [and] today it has generated a substantial body of theory about state welfare’ (Midgley, 1997: 89). A review of relevant literature shows that within the welfare state concept, the government played a vital role in the protection and promotion of economic and social well-being of its citizens. Evolutionary changes in government policy further transformed the fundamental nature of the relationship between the state and its citizens.

Scholars have also implied that a significant restructuring in social welfare has resulted in a modification of the state role in social welfare. The development of social welfare in recent years amounts to a realignment of approaches in which the role of the state has been retrenched (Midgley, 1997). The changing trend in the state involvement in welfare is discussed next.

The State Involvement in Welfare

Generally, the idea that welfare could, or should, be the responsibility of the state began to emerge in Europe between 1880 and the early 1940s. During this period, many industrialised countries, particularly in the West, were conventionally seen as being in a period of welfare state advancement. Bismarck laid one of the most important foundation stones – the first modern social insurance scheme – in Germany in the 1880s (George and Page, 1995). Social insurance, which was usually financed through compulsory, universal contributions, was a fundamental feature of the welfare state in most industrialised nations. Other European countries soon followed, introducing social security programmes and extending state provision into such sectors as health, education, housing and personal social services (George and Page, 1995), particularly introducing schemes like maternity payments and child allowances (Midgley, 1995).

The term “classic” welfare state has often been used with reference to the period from 1945 to 1975, ‘when more extensive and more universal forms of social protection were introduced’ (Page, 2002: 275). Between the mid-1940s and the mid-1970s, arguments by welfare theorists that the state should be the main provider of welfare services continued to find favour amongst governments in many Western industrial

nations. Following a period of about thirty years of relative stability after the Second World War, the welfare state had been experiencing a period of rapid change whereby the role of the state had increased.

The debate concerning the extent of the state involvement and regulation of social welfare provision has also been the political focus in many Western countries. Approaches to welfare provision have tended to be linked to the left-right spectrum of political viewpoints, with the New Right approach to social policy being identified as a politically right-wing approach and Radical socialism as a politically left-wing approach. The New Right believes that the government involvement in regulating individuals' lives should be avoided. The tendency is to differentiate between individuals who "deserve" welfare services and those identified as "undeserving". On the other hand, to the radical socialist, the state should play the major role in dealing with social issues and providing suitable social circumstances to ensure that people's basic needs are met and welfare services are publicly funded (Walsh *et al.*, 2000).

Thus, these "left" and "right" wing views are divided. Whilst the "left wing" is for welfare, public provision, collectivist and institutional welfare, the "right wing" is against welfare, public provision, individualist and supports residual welfare. The Right has stressed the importance of the individual and the family, along with non-governmental organisations, a moderate public expenditure, privatization, service contracts and religious, voluntary and commercial providers (Walsh *et al.*, 2000; Midgley, 2003). The Left, on the other hand, has heavily relied on state interventionism (Walsh *et al.*, 2000).

Some countries such as France, Sweden and Germany retain a strong belief in the responsibility of central government to fund and manage basic welfare provision and public utilities (Hall and Midgley, 2004). In the case of the UK for instance, the New Right's influence on social policy-making was most powerful in the 1980s during the years of the Thatcher government (Midgley, 1997; Walsh *et al.*, 2000). A "third way" or a compromise between right-wing and left-wing political viewpoints was adopted by the New Labour government in 1997 that targets welfare at particular groups. It has moved away from the centralised, bureaucratic provision of social welfare. Although the welfare recipients need to accept that they too have an obligation to help themselves out of "welfare dependency", the state still has a responsibility to support vulnerable individuals in need. Thus the state, no longer is the main provider of welfare provision, will instead act as purchaser and regulator of services, making partnerships with the voluntary and private-sector providers (Walsh *et al.*, 2000).

The "Third Way" approach of social welfare provision, which the New Labour has embraced, is indicative of a trend towards the convergence of the left and right thinking elements in the West. Within this approach, the state largely financed the services, which 'may be delivered by private or voluntary bodies' (Powell, 2003: 104). In the viewpoint of Midgley, this approach is suited to the needs of the time that place varying degrees of emphasis on state involvement and 'the role of diverse sources of welfare in modern society' (Midgley, 2003: 6). In a sense, the researcher agrees with Midgley pertaining to the changing role of the state in providing social welfare provision to its citizens and its inclusion of private and voluntary sectors as part of the

welfare system. However, 'it has been claimed that the Third way is largely confined to the USA and the UK, or that most countries in Europe' (Powell, 2003: 105).

Thus far, it can be seen that the state could contribute to the development and changes in the provision of social welfare. These changes and development can be explained with the help of social welfare models, which are discussed next.

Models of Social Welfare

Midgley (1987b) acknowledges that models in social science theorising are relatively stable generalised images that allow the organisation of phenomena into systematic conceptual schema and the comprehension of reality. He argues that although models do not usually provide answers to specific questions, they serve as abstract representations of the perceived structures, and systematic patterns in the real world. Moreover, apart from not being readily refuted, models can be regarded as useful framework within which different propositions may be explored. 'Models are primary examples of the classificatory techniques in social science theorising' (Midgley, 1987b: 116) and may be used to explain functions and simplify complex reality for analytical purposes (Jary and Jary, 2000).

Models are used within this study to aid in the analysis and classification of the colonial government approaches to welfare in Malaya. While no one disputes the leading role of the government in social policy, there is continuing debate as to the size of that role: should it follow the institutional or residual model, or should it be a combination of both? The next section discusses the residual and institutional approaches to social welfare.

Residual and Institutional

Some academics who have researched the government's involvement and role in social welfare during the twentieth century have provided conceptual models of welfare provision. Of these, the residual versus institutional models formulated by Harold Wilensky and Charles Lebeaux (1965) and Titmuss (1974) have been widely cited. Midgley admits that Wilensky and Lebeaux 'did not use the term "model" or go into detail in articulating or generalising their ideas' (Midgley, 1987b: 117). Although the usefulness of Wilensky and Lebeaux's conceptions of social welfare has not been exposed to rigorous empirical assessment, a number of social policy commentators have considered their ideas. Several reformulations and expansion of their conceptions have been attempted. The residual and institutional model was intended to serve as a classificatory device (Midgley, 2003). However, 'it also had the implicit normative purpose of declaring the superiority of institutional over the residual approach' (Midgley, 2003: 2).

The institutional conception of social welfare 'sees welfare services as normal "first line" functions of modern industrial society' (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965: 138) and social welfare services are needed as part of the fabric of society. Titmuss (1974) believed that the state is the most effective collective institution for the provision of welfare in complex societies. This view advocates that welfare provision by the state caters for the population as a whole, and assumes that economic, political, religious and familial structures cannot deal adequately with the problems of individuals. 'This conception includes social inventions to support, reinforce, and enhance family functioning, available to all people, not only those who are in some way a casualty of

modern life and in need of protective or therapeutic services' (Downs, McFadden, Michaud, and Costin, 2004: 16).

In contrast, the residual view of welfare 'holds [that] social welfare institutions should come into play only when the normal structures of supply, the family and the market break down' (Wilensky and Lebeaux, 1965: 138). Residualism suggests that welfare services are provided only for those who cannot provide for themselves, and that family, religious, political, and economic institutions promote the general welfare. Usually policies and programmes based on this latter conception see the government as playing an important, but minimalist role in welfare provision. In other words, apart from seeing the family as the appropriate source of assistance for most contingencies, the state is regarded as a last resort provider as compared to voluntary organisations or privately funded institutions. Whilst voluntary organisations carry a large share of the burden of social welfare, governmental administration deals mostly with certain social problems, such as crime, delinquency and prostitution. The residual view of social welfare implies that the main priority of policy is to assist "vulnerable groups", or the needy, such as the poor or mainly low-income groups, which require a concentration of resources upon them, whereas the institutional view implies that in the event of a crises the responsibility to assist rests with the state.

Residualism, thus, emphasises the provision of programmes and services only after the primary group that usually functions is no longer capable of functioning (Downs *et al.*, 2004). In the field of child welfare, for instance, traditional child welfare services, such as child protective services and foster care, 'are interventions offered

only after the family system has broken down and are therefore classified as residual services' (Downs *et al.*, 2004: 16).

Titmuss (1974) considered welfare services in the UK context. He integrated Wilensky and Lebeaux's ideas 'with his earlier classification of "selective" and "universal" social services' (Midgley, 1987b: 117). Midgley (1997) asserts that Titmuss's universal-selective model was very similar to Wilensky and Lebeaux's institutional-residual approach. "Selective" relates to the residual conception in which the welfare provision consists of 'limited, means-tested services to particular groups of needy people' (Midgley, 1997: 93). On the other hand, "universal" refers to the institutionalization of social welfare that 'caters to the population as a whole' (Midgley, 1997: 93). Midgley (1987b: 118) argues that Wilensky and Lebeaux's "model" 'is of dubious value in comprehending welfare phenomena in the industrial world' because of different interpretations of their approaches among scholars who associated these approaches (the residual and the institutional) with different realities and also because different reformulations were recommended by them. Nevertheless, it is 'probably the best-known model in social policy' (Midgley, 1987b: 116). Moreover, many scholars 'continue to believe that it is of general relevance and usefulness in classifying contemporary welfare phenomena' (Midgley, 1987b: 119).

The Wilensky and Lebeaux's "model" too has 'formed a normative basis for social policy interventions in many industrial countries' (Midgley, 1996b: 59). Although it may be used within industrialised countries, the researcher views that Wilensky and Lebeaux's conceptualisation of contrasting approaches to welfare seems to be very useful in conveying a general "feel" about social policies of different

countries including Malaysia. Additionally, Wilensky and Lebeaux's idea can be considered basis for this study which will analyse the extent of institutional or residual approaches to welfare practiced by the colonial government.

The ideas of Wilensky and Lebeaux (1965) and Titmuss (1974), as pointed out above, were constructed in the context of a society in developed nations, that is, in the US and UK. Although their original formulation has since been used by other scholars on a wider basis to represent the two ends of the continuum of social welfare activities (Titmuss, 1974; Butterworth and Holman, 1975; Mishra, 1977), the two illustrations are not precise measures. According to Mishra (1977), the "residual" and "institutional" models are two distinctive approaches to policy (what *should* be done) that can 'usefully be adapted to depict (what *is*) the nature of welfare arrangements in capitalist society' (Mishra, 1977: 101). Nevertheless, the conventional model of welfare dichotomy in Western social policy is still relevant and of value in analysing social welfare in Malaya during the period of the study (1946-1957) because the characteristics of the model can actually explain the social welfare phenomenon that existed in the country during its colonisation by a Western capitalist power (British).

A summary of the main features of both the residual and institutional models, and the respective level of the degree of intensity of each feature, is illustrated in Table 2.1. This table builds on the work developed by Mishra's two basic types of welfare based on the scope of statutory provision in industrialised capitalist societies (Mishra, 1977). As discussed earlier, social policy differs in terms of the state's responsibility to meet basic needs, the range of statutory services, the population covered by statutory

services, the level of benefits, the nature of vulnerable groups, and the role of non-statutory agencies.

Main Features	Models of social welfare	
	Residual	Institutional
State responsibility in meeting basic needs	Minimal	Optimal
Range of statutory services	Limited	Extensive
Population covered by statutory services	Minority	Majority
Level of benefits	Low	Medium
Nature of clients	Vulnerable groups	Citizens
Role of non-statutory agencies	Primary	Secondary

Table 2.1: Features of residual and institutional models of social welfare
Source: Adapted from Mishra (1977)

Table 2.1 indicates, the scope of state welfare is minimal in the residual model. In countries in which the government adopted the institutional model, people received benefits based on their needs and as a basis of right. The institutional model favours large scale state intervention, collective involvement, universal coverage and long term provision. The residual model, on the other hand, favours limited state intervention, a high degree of personal responsibility, and extensive involvement of non-profit organizations (Midgley, 1996a).

The introduction of Western ideas and institutions to other countries through colonialism is discussed next in the section on Midgley’s model of social welfare with

the notions of diffusion and residualism. Midgley is the dominant contributor for the diffusion and residual approach in the context of colonialism.

Midgley’s Social Welfare Model

Midgley (1987b: 119) has proposed a model to assist the exploration of welfare approach in developing countries. Midgley’s Social Welfare Model, constructed in the context of colonialism provides a platform for investigating the approach of welfare services in Malaya, with particular reference to services towards children.

Midgley’s Model of Social Welfare considers the role of “diffusion” of colonial ideas and practices, and the “residual” conception in the approach to welfare within the context of colonial-colony relationship. Midgley (1987b) has prominently pointed out concerns placed by the colonial governments on their colony, which, as Figure 2.1 indicates, were heavily focussed towards government’s economic interest rather than the welfare of the people in the colonies.

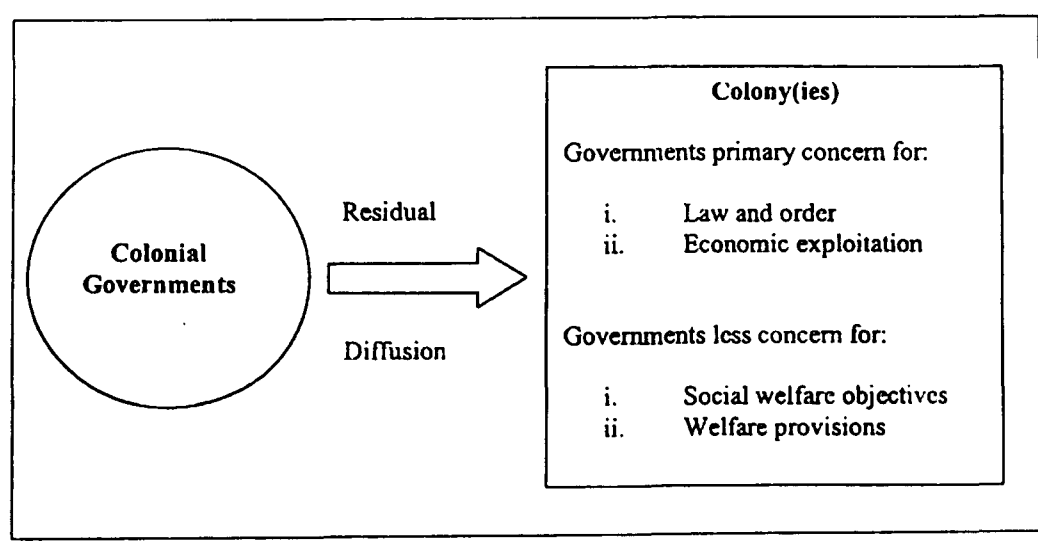


Figure 2.1: Overview of Midgley’s Social Welfare Model

Midgley argues that the European Poor Law, the oldest model of social welfare echoing the nineteenth century, is believed to be the first model introduced by a colonial government in many developing countries before independence (Midgley, 1984b, 1995). Since this Poor Law was also compatible with the prevailing development paradigms of modernization, many post-independence governments in the 1950s continued this policy (MacPherson and Midgley, 1987). However, situations began to change just before the Second World War and it was only in the latter part of the colonial period that there was any real concern with the welfare of the local populations and the expansion of social, economic and political opportunities (Hardiman and Midgley, 1982b; MacPherson, 1982). Thus, drawing upon the argument of Hardiman, Midgley (1982b) and MacPherson (1982), this study considers the development of social welfare in Malaya during the post-war period and its relationship to the colonial government's extent of concern for the welfare of the local populations.

Several authors (e.g., Hodge, 1973; Midgley, 1981; MacPherson, 1982) have argued that welfare programmes introduced in several colonies such as Africa, India, Papua New Guinea and Sierra Leone were compatible with wider European imperial interests, and were often intended to protect the settler community. More comprehensive child welfare legislation enacted before independence to deal with neglected children in many territories were copied word from word from the English Children and Young Persons Act of 1933 (Mair, 1944; Hardiman and Midgley, 1982b). Limited remedial social work services, residential care and poor-law type social assistance provisions were introduced in many colonies (Midgley, 1981, 1984b). The growth of urban nuisances such as begging, juvenile delinquency and destitution

occasioned a response from the colonial governments that sought to suppress these practices rather than ameliorate their root causes (Midgley, 1984b). Concern about growing crime and vagrancy amongst youth in urban areas led to the establishment of probation services and the building of juvenile courts, remand homes and reformatories in the 1940s (Midgley, 1981).

Residual

Some researchers (e.g., Rodney, 1972; Hodge, 1973; Midgley, 1981; 1987b; 1990; MacPherson, 1982; 1987b; Hardiman and Midgley, 1982a; Harper, 1991) show that social policies and welfare services in the colonies were limited in scope, and were characterised by a residual nature. Midgley's assertions regarding residualism and its relation to colonialism are seemingly more dominant than those of other authors. Moreover, he has continuously contributed towards this claim since the early 1980s.

Midgley (1981) clarifies that colonial authorities were content to let the Church, missionaries and voluntary organisations cater for the social needs of their subjects, while their own interventions were kept to a minimum. Initially, social services were not provided by colonial governments, but by missionary organisations or charities (Hardiman and Midgley, 1982b; MacPherson, 1987b). Social charities and philanthropic societies formed the basis for many of today's welfare services in these former colonies. Considerable reliance was placed on missions, which represented most of voluntary organisations in the colonies, and very frequently such organisations received substantial financial support from government funds.

Midgley (1987b, 1995) claims that colonial government was more primarily concerned about law and order within the colonised country and the exploitation of the country's economic resources (see Figure 2.1). Indeed this was the latent motive for the establishment of social welfare in most of its colonies at various times (MacPherson, 1982). The colonial government was less concerned about social welfare provisions towards the people of the country even though it initiated the approach and practices to social welfare as a welfare state. In this study, drawing upon Midgley's (1987b, 1995) assertions, it is of interest to examine Britain's approach to social welfare needs of the indigenous groups in Malaya and their motives for action in the provision of welfare for the Malayan people in general and to children in particular.

The colonial government's approach to welfare in its colonies could influence the importation of colonial social welfare concepts and practices through the notion of diffusion.

Diffusion

The notion of diffusion primarily connote the spread of culture and is most frequently employed in the context of Third World development and social welfare institutions, largely through the experience and influence of colonialism (Midgley, 1981, 1984a, 1987a). Midgley (1984a, 1994, 1995, 1997), a proponent of diffusion theory who has researched the emergence of social welfare and social work in the developing nations, defines the concept of diffusion as:

... the development of social welfare institutions through the exchange of information and views between policy makers or ... the adoption of the welfare policies or practices of one country by policy makers in another; it may result in the discerning adaptation of foreign experience or the uncritical replication of alien welfare policies.

(Midgley, 1984a: 170)

Midgley's views that the selective adoption of colonial government's social welfare ideas and practices could effectively be implemented if deemed appropriate for the colony. On the other hand, the adoption of these welfare ideas and practices could also take place by the direct copying of the colonial's ideas and practices and applying them without considering the colonised peoples' views. Thus, within this definition, the beliefs, practices, and institutions of one country is diffused into another through assimilation, adaptation or direct imposition. Also worth noting is that Midgley's (1984a) definition of diffusion considers the importation of colonial social welfare ideas and practices that could take place in different ways.

The role of diffusion in transmitting social policies has never been properly assessed (Midgley, 1984). 'The modernization theorists first applied diffusion to describe the process by which the industrial culture of the Western world is transmitted to the newly-independent countries as an integral part of the development process' (Midgley, 1984a: 168).

The diffusion theory 'assumed post-independence links between the developing countries and their former colonial rulers and the role of influences from the latter to the former. The developing countries are seen as replicating the institutions and values of the former colonial powers' (Tang, 1996: 48). In the process of colonisation, Western ideas were introduced into Third World nations because 'they were regarded as superior

and worthy of emulation' (Midgley's, 1997: 107). As a result, cultures of the native peoples were declared inadequate and decadent, and were largely undermined and destroyed to enrich colonial power and privileges. Effort to transform the colony's structure inevitably required, or at times forced, the colonised peoples to adopt capitalist system patterns and requirements.

Thus, the above assertions indicate that, as a whole, welfare provision in Britain colonies, such as Africa, tended to develop as a reaction to specific problems, much as they had in Britain, and tended to be modelled on her legislation and other provision.

In this study, the extent of diffusion of British's social welfare ideas and practices in the development of social welfare in Malaya during 1946-1957 is explored. Before focussing on social welfare in colonial Malaya, the next section discusses social welfare and colonialism.

Social Welfare and Colonialism

Most underdeveloped countries experienced colonial rule (Goldthorpe, 1975) including countries in East and Southeast Asia. Despite substantial differences in experience between each developing country and coloniser, many of the characteristics of colonialism, such as the degree of social disruption, are the same (Goldthorpe, 1975).

Colonialism was concerned with economic exploitation of the colonies' surplus, since most of the colonies were rich in mineral and agricultural resources (MacPherson, 1982; Midgley, 1995). The colony had to produce 'raw materials for distant industries, or raise single cash crops for the commerce and consumption of the "mother" country' (Gil, 1985: 29). Thus, the intention of the colonial governments was to maintain 'stable

colonial Malaya were originally urban-based, hospital-centred and elitist, serving first British officers and other colonists. The first hospital was built to serve the needs of the British officers and their troops. Those at a distance from European settlement, whose illnesses were least likely to affect colonial economic life or the health of others, had little access to medical and hospital services (Manderson, 1996).

A few studies attempt to remark on the development of social welfare in the colonial countries prior to the Second World War (Furnivall, 1941; Mair, 1944). For example, Furnivall's (1941) work on welfare development of colonial Southeast Asia is a comparative study involving Burma, Malaya and Indo-China, which were under the influence of Western nations. He commented in general on colonial efficiency, welfare and economic policy in Southeast Asian countries. One of the earliest descriptions of considerable historical value was Mair's (1944) work, which outlines a descriptive review of education, labour, health and social welfare services in various British colonial territories, that is, Africa, Hong Kong, Ceylon, Fiji and the Western Pacific Islands, the West Indies and Malaya. However, in her discussion, matters pertaining to social welfare in Malaya were left untouched.

Singapore and Hong Kong are among those Asian countries that were once British colonies. Some aspects of the colonial system are evident in their social welfare systems. Midgley (1981, 1984a; 1984b) asserts that some of the values of the former colonists have been adopted into the welfare systems in some parts of East Asia. For instance, the Central Provident Fund was established by the British government in Singapore (Goodman *et al.*, 1997). Meanwhile, Hong Kong modelled its Public Assistance on British National Assistance.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), which are active in social welfare in East Asia and in Hong Kong, for instance, deliver various welfare services ranging from child and youth centres to institutions for people with mental health problems and residential centres. These NGOs have roots in the colony's early history. The Hong Kong welfare system benefits only a small portion of the population. It targets mainly poor people over 65 years old and most of the funding for the existing programme is provided by the state (Goodman *et al.*, 1997).

Thus, it can be concluded that the study of social welfare may be approached in many different ways but when the aim is to understand the development of social welfare in a specific society, it must be viewed within the society's own perspective. The literature also indicates that social welfare is a dynamic activity that has grown out of, and is constantly influenced by, different variables according to the nation's own culture, belief system, geography and historical background.

The next section focusses on the social welfare in Malaya, which was once also a British colony.

Social Welfare in Colonial Malaya

Systematic research in relation to social welfare is a new subject of academic endeavour in Malaysia. The social history of Malaysia has not received attention from historians it deserves (Kennedy, 1962). In fact, it has been neglected by researchers (Hirschman, 1979; Azmah, 2001), as compared to economic and political aspects. However, some striking contributions have been made on certain topics, such as health services (Chee, 1982; Kai, 1987; Manderson, 1996), educational system (e.g., Awang, 1980; Ibrahim,

1981; Fuziah, 1992), and social history issues (Azmah, 2001), such as the Malay society in general (e.g., Gullick, 1987; Khoo, 1991) or the social lives of the European community (Butcher, 1979) in Malaya, and the socio-economic impact of the Japanese occupation (Kratoska, 1998).

There have been attempts to deal with colonial administration and policy in relation to welfare among economic and political issues (e.g., Tate, 1979; Mahani, 2003). Nevertheless, historical studies dealing with colonial policy and its influence on social welfare in Malaya have received very little attention from scholars (Sayed Rahman, 1998; Davis *et al.*, 2000).

Local and foreign scholars who studied Malaya within the same period of study (1946-1957), were concerned with, or focussed more on, political issues in Malaysia. Among these political views were, to name a few, Malay nationalism (Roff, 1967); the Communist insurgency during 1948 to 1960 (Clutterback, 1967; Ratnam, 1967); and the struggle for independence between 1945 and 1957 (Khong, 1984). Stockwell (1979) and Oong (2000) provide a significant picture of British colonial policy in relation to ethnic politics among Malays and Chinese. Leong (1999) examines socio-economic and political determinants that shaped the development of the labour movement and trade unionism in colonial Malaya between 1930 and 1957.

Several scholars presented brief sections on social welfare which describe various issues such as health, labour and education (Jones, 1953; Central Office of Information, 1957; Kennedy, 1962; Tate, 1979). For example, S.W. Jones's (1953) work, which focuses on the development of public administration in Malaysia, has limited coverage of social welfare. The UK Central Office of Information (1957) also

briefly discusses welfare of the blind, children's services, probation services, voluntary organisations and relief work. Henderson *et al.* (1970) clarify the role of government in health and welfare of the Malaysian population as reflected in the activities of three Malaysian cabinet ministries – Health, Welfare Services and Local Government and Housing. However, Henderson and colleagues provide little coverage on social welfare services, describing them together with other sub-topics on health and sanitation, diet and nutrition, housing and sanitation and welfare. Thus, these scholars have provided very little knowledge concerning social welfare services in Malaysia.

As Hardiman and Midgley (1982b) stress, many newly independent countries established various cabinet level ministries or government departments such as the ministry of health, housing, and community development. For implementation of such provisions for these groups, the ministries or the department of social welfare in developing countries were created to deal with social issues (Hardiman and Midgley, 1982a; 1982b; Jones, 1990; Midgley, 1995). In the case of Malaya, the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) 'has a range of benefits both in kind and cash to bestow [and that] social welfare sometimes has its own ministry but often shares a minister with other public services' (Jones, 1990: 195). These comments have some truth in them because the DSW in Malaya was linked with other departments to form ministries (see Chapter 5). However, he selected only a few examples when discussing matters pertaining to social welfare services, and did not provide further details of services in Malaya during the colonial period.

Kathleen Jones's (1958) influential work on social welfare in Malaya has blended welfare services with those rendered by the Rural and Industrial Development

Authority 'which deals with communities in the less developed areas' (Jones, 1958: 1); the Department of Aborigines; the Medical Department and general welfare work by voluntary organisations. She took such a step probably because she holds the view that social welfare work in Malaya was not only provided by DSW but also by other government agencies and voluntary organisations. Nevertheless, Jones's work opened new ground for the current researcher to undertake further study on social welfare services rendered by the DSW for children. However, Jones's work has some weaknesses, particularly with her use of primary and secondary sources. Notwithstanding the fact that the particular method of study was acceptable during the time she undertook her study, some of her arguments are not sufficiently convincing because they were not supported by an appropriate source of data. For instance, she cites, without stating her information sources, 12,000 blind people in Malaya but less than 4000 had registered at the time of her study (Jones, 1958: 4). Moreover, Jones chose to discuss only a few of the services rendered by the DSW: youth work, probation and approved schools, blind welfare, children, public assistance and family casework. There were more services which she could have discussed, such as services to the elderly, the public restaurant and relief schemes.

Choosing Malaysia as her case study to cover the nature and problems of social work education in the Third World, Siti Hawa (1983) aims to show how the colonial institution develops and continues to expand into the present post-colonial situation. She argues that social work in Malaysia began with the colonial provisions of services for estate and mining workers, particularly the Chinese and the Indians, after the Second

World War. She tries to explain in brief some of the legislation and protection in relation to welfare services to workers.

According to her, the colonial government introduced the first social welfare services in Malaya in 1877 to the Chinese workers, and to the Indian workers in 1884. She describes the welfare of the immigrant workers until the year 1943 when the Advisory Committee on Social Welfare for the colonies was established. She also explains briefly the services rendered by the DSW and the organisation of the Ministry of Social Welfare. Although her work highlighted some significant aspects of the earliest social welfare services within Malaya, she failed to support her research through the use of archival sources in her study.

Kai (1987) concentrates on the development of health services and intensively analyses the evolution of the structure and functions of health institutions and programmes in Malaya and Singapore in the colonial and post-colonial periods (1867-1960). Kai's work is of some significance and relevance to the current study because as Mair (1944) claims, health is one aspect of colonial welfare services. In fact, Kai's study has contributed to the knowledge of social and health policies, by using a multi-disciplinary perspective. However, his work is primarily concerned with the development of the health services but not on children welfare services.

Harper's (1991) study on the Malayan state and society during 1945-1957 covers an almost similar period as the current study. His study focuses on the intercession period of the British administration, the politics of health and welfare, and Malaysia's colonial inheritance. According to him, 'as a study of late colonialism it is a contribution to the comparative history of Western expansion and retreat and as an

account of decolonisation it is an exercise in Southeast Asian social history' (Harper, 1991: 2).

Although Harper's (1991) works involved an analysis of the politics of health and welfare in Malaya within 1945-1957, he did not focus particularly on the welfare of children, which the current study is concerned. We will be turning to look at the need to further investigate aspects of child welfare in the next section.

Child Welfare

There is great interest in child welfare and children's rights within the perspective of history in Britain during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (e.g., Hendrick, 1994, 2003; Steedman, 1995). Before 1900, children needing care in Britain were looked after by the Poor Law (Holman, 1988) or by voluntary organisations such as Barnardo's (Heywood, 1978; Holman, 1988; Byrne and Padfield, 1990; Grier, 2000). The Poor Law tried to discourage what it saw as 'parental fecklessness' (Bruce and Meggitt, 1999: 494) by removing children from the family and placing them in institutions, believing that it was thus 'rescuing them from negligence, immorality and lawlessness of their families' (Bruce and Meggitt, 1999: 494).

Whilst the welfare state helped parents to care for their children within the family, the Poor Law "rescued" children when parents were unable to provide adequate care. At this time, the idea of cottage homes began to take root, even though they were already being used by voluntary agencies. Dr. Barnardo developed a method of care 'which not only reared the youngsters within ordinary communities but which was also cheap – boarding-out' (Holman, 1988: 4). Dr. Barnardo's role in children's welfare is

stressed by Glennerster (1975: 79), who notes that in Britain, 'Most, if not all, statutory services owed a great deal to voluntary societies in their formation and continue to work closely with them in some fields. This is probably most true in the child-care field, where as many as a third of the places in children's homes are provided by voluntary groups such as Dr. Barnardo's work'.

Others who also ranked as British national figures were The Rev. Thomas Bowman Stephenson (Holman, 1988) who founded the National Children's Home and Orphanage, and Edward Rudolf, who founded the Waifs and Strays Society. The numbers of children received by the homes were astonishing: in 1882 the Waifs and Strays coped with 34; by 1902 they had had 3,071 (Holman, 1988). In 1905, the year of Barnardo's death, his society maintained 11,277 children (Holman, 1988).

Titmuss's (1950) study of social policy history throughout the Second World War is recognised as having made an impressive contribution to the debate on the interrelationship of war and social change. Although Titmuss's argument on the influence of war on social policy has never been examined outside the British context (Mishra, 1981), his claim that the Second World War had a decisive influence on the course of social welfare is convincing. Titmuss (1959) argued that the circumstances of the Second World War created an unprecedented sense of social solidarity among the British people, which made them willing to accept egalitarian policies and collective state intervention. As a result, services and child welfare provision had to be adjusted or adapted to the situations that emerged after the war, since the aftermath had brought about different issues involving children that certainly needed immediate attention and action.

The impact of bombing and evacuation had dramatically exposed certain chronic social problems such as child poverty and malnutrition. Certain issues pertaining to child care were highlighted by the war experience. For example, Hendrick (1994) establishes that the war caused:

...the disintegration of many families as a result of absent fathers, blitzed homes, dead relatives, demographic movement into hostile communities, illegitimacy, and the struggle to rebuild relationships on the return to normality. ...the evacuation experience demonstrated what appeared to be the extraordinary tenacity and resilience of the family as mothers and children gradually returned from the reception areas to their old homes.
(Hendrick, 1994: 221)

The war caused significant changes concerning deprived children, as over three million children had been evacuated. Government officials postulated that 'at the end of hostilities the existing systems of child care would be unable to cope with the numbers of children orphaned or made homeless by the war' (Holman, 1988: 29).

Throughout the period of evacuation, the physical and emotional condition of children received much attention, especially when 'under the influence of psychologists and psychoanalysts such as Susan Isaacs, Anna Freud and John Bowlby, these groups of children were seen as being of both *body and mind*' (Hendrick, 2003: 5). Although the evacuation process in Britain was socially significant, 'it was the evidence produced of mental disorientation and emotional turmoil, caused in part by separation of children from their parents, that proved to be one of the formative influences on early post-war childcare policy' (Hendrick, 2003: 6).

During this post-war period, Bowlby (1952), in his profoundly influential theory of "maternal deprivation", cautions that children who were outside their families were

highly probable to become either emotionally disturbed and/or criminal delinquents. Bowlby's idea was first put forward in a report to the World Health Organization in 1951, and published in 1953 as *Child Care and the Growth of Love*. He conjectures that:

...what is believed to be essential for mental health is that an infant and young child should experience a warm, intimate, and continuous relationship with his mother (or permanent mother-substitute – one person who steadily 'mothers' him) in which both find satisfaction and enjoyment.

(Bowlby, 1952: 13)

Bowlby maintained that this "attachment bond" forms the basis for healthy mental development (although not everyone agrees with his idea as being unfair to women).¹ Children whose attachments with their mothers were disrupted, suffered all kinds of emotional problems that later could possibly 'lead to abnormal personality development' (Davenport, 1994: 8). Obviously, this Western theory of child care has evolved over the centuries: ideas on child development have been strongly influenced by the work of child psychologists, whose ideas in turn have had a particular impact on child care in the UK. Since the work of Bowlby was significant in Britain during the period of this study, it would be of interest to the current study to also examine whether or not the notion of "attachment bond" was introduced within the provision of social welfare to the Malayan children (see Chapter 8).

¹ 'Many feminists have resented the way that women have been encouraged to stay at home with the children, and discouraged from having a career. They also complain that the mother is automatically blamed if anything goes wrong with the children' (Davenport, 1994: 17).

Kahn and Kamerman (1980: 62) believe that 'children are major objects of government social policy' and the government needs to play its part in matters involving child welfare because children 'are dependent and helpless, [and] governments at times must protect them and ensure their feeding and upbringing, perhaps assigning surrogate parents'. Gil (1985: 31) acknowledges the significance of government's role in child welfare, which he views as a 'set of specific and overt policies and services carried out by the state and its institutions, when families were unable to carry out normal child care and socialization functions'. The need for such intervention reached its peak in the nineteenth century, which may be attributed to a rapid increase in population, the drift from rural to urban settings, overcrowded slum conditions, low income and unemployment (Holman, 1988).

The government may intervene in the relationship between parents and children (Gustavsson and Segal, 1994) because, in structuring and establishing social policy, it considers the welfare of children, and thus, establishes welfare institutions. Perspective on child welfare service is essentially related to the notion of the government's ability to intervene in the lives of children (Moosa-Mitha, 1999). This intervention also refers to the role of government and the 'degree to which its activities can be considered residual as opposed to institutional' (Moosa-Mitha, 1999: 98).

The work of MacPherson (1987a) regarding poor children in comparative social policy in the Third World undeniably fills a major gap in the literature on social welfare services as it critically examines the significant issues affecting the well-being of children. Voluntary and charitable sectors were generally active in providing social services, such as in the provision of residential child-care (MacPherson and Midgley,

1987; MacPherson, 1987a) and ‘many of them [Third World] had a history of such activity which began in the colonial period’ (MacPherson, 1987c: 166). Although he extensively covered the provision for Third World (e.g., Brazil, Jamaica, India) children, Malaysia was not his focus.

In traditional societies in ‘Africa, Asia, and Central and South America [people] regularly engage in helping activities’ (Midgley, 1997: 98) since most of the responsibility for caring for others was met largely by the extended family. Additionally, in these societies, the extended family has a notable contribution to the welfare of the child (MacPherson, 1987a; Midgley, 1997), and welfare is one of the essential activities of the household, the extended family and other social groups. Although it is the responsibility of parents to meet the physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual needs of their children (Gustavsson and Segal, 1994), relatives, friends and neighbours do play a significant role in the context of child welfare when they look after ‘children whose parents cannot provide for them’ (Gustavsson and Segal, 1994: 18).

After reviewing a wide range of relevant literature in Malaysia, it is evident that there is still very limited research on child welfare. Scholars do not devote much attention to aspects of child welfare services in Malaysia, as compared to those in developed or developing countries. However, there are few studies that examined some aspects of child care. These include the study that generally focus on socialisation (Shamsiah, 1981), child abuse (Kasmini, 1992; Abd Main, 1999) and residential child care (Fulcher and Faizah, 2000; Salma *et al.*, 2005). The work of Shamsiah, on the socialisation of a Malay child through child care services, is of some relevance to the present study and was based on her experience as a Malay and as a social worker in an

area in which very few studies have been conducted. Unfortunately, much of her work was not derived from archival sources.

Studies related to colonial policy on child welfare in Malaysia are difficult to come across due to the newness of social welfare issues among social science scholars in Malaysia. Lack of studies on children in Malaysian social science research may be due to the fact that researchers are more inclined to pursue topics with more available sources and accessible data.

Conclusion

Within this chapter we have reviewed relevant literature that highlights the meaning of the terms related to the study. Child welfare is not easily defined, and the term is contextual in nature. It has to be particularly considered within the country's own historical development, the society's needs and specific characteristics of the country concerned. Dissimilarities in terms of the country's cultural values and history all affect the ways in which 'child care problems are created, defined and responded to' (Hill, 2000: 51). Questions about what policies and services children should have are difficult to answer due to disagreements about children's right. Nevertheless, the rights and principles of the child were documented in 1946 in the United Nations Declaration of the Rights of the Child (CO 859/229/1). However, there is no consensus as to what rights the children had had in less developed nations during the colonial period.

Furthermore, the dominant paradigm in the meanings attached to the term social welfare and its historical development suggests that these terms are mostly defined within the perspectives of developed Western society. No suitable definition of social

welfare policy has been reached in the context of colonial settings because for most developing countries, apart from social welfare being a recent idea, it is only after the Second World War that many territories became politically independent nation-states.

In spite of its failings, the state remains the single most vital policy institution (Hall and Midgley, 2004). Within a welfare state, extensive social services are provided by the government to its citizens. However, of late, there are views that the state should intervene less and function more as a facilitator of balanced social development, providing a favourable context and concentrating fundamentally on specific areas commensurate to its role, which include protecting the poor and the vulnerable (Midgley, 1997).

There is current trend to reformulate the role of the state in the context of social welfare provision with the tendency of incorporating the role of private and non-voluntary organisations and working together with them to enhance welfare provision to the people. Some Western social policy thinkers are considering the characteristics and the growth of social welfare within the East and Southeast Asian countries in which the states apparently spend less on social welfare provision and kinship role in welfare remains significant.

Among the major force in the history of developing countries has been the impact of colonialism towards the welfare of societies, government administration (administrative field) economic and social development (health and education). A striking discrepancy is apparent between the literature published during the 1940s and in the early 2000s pertaining to the idea of social welfare provision in developing countries. With the exception of MacPherson's (1987a) work on poverty and child

welfare in the Third World, child welfare services during the colonial period have been insufficiently explored in literature, and hence, a need to identify certain welfare provisions offered in developing countries is noticeable.

Social policy scholars devoted less attention to colonial policies and the growth of social welfare in Malaya. Nonetheless, Jones's (1958) work provided a basis for the current study. Other studies that opened new ground for the researcher to embark on the current study include the works of Siti Hawa (1983), Kai (1987) and Harper (1991). However, like the work of Jones (1958), their works had not focused particularly on children's social welfare.

Interestingly, British as the colonial power, was experiencing the ideas and practices of a welfare state during the period under study. Diffusion theory describes the process of cultural transmission of welfare institutions to developing nations (Tang, 1996). The current study contends that Midgley's diffusion theory could account for the development of welfare in Malaya in terms of colonial influences. Since Midgley also asserts that many colonial authorities resorted to a residual approach of social welfare before independence, the notion of residualism is included in the current study to characterise the approach of the colonial government with respect to social welfare within Malaya during the period of study.

Subsequently, the use of appropriate methodology in investigating the issue within the current study is vital. The next chapter discusses the chosen approaches and relevant arguments concerning the methodology employed in this study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter outlines the documentary and qualitative methodology used in this study. The following two sections focus on historical research method in social work, and the research stages, that is, the processes involved in conducting this research. Relevant steps and procedures in the data collection process are highlighted and explained in subsequent sections. The researcher's personal reflections on the features of the methodology used and relative issues are also discussed. The last part of this chapter provides some concluding remarks regarding the research methodology.

Historical Research Method in Social Work

Historical research is defined as the systematic process of collecting and evaluating evidence from past occurrences, and arriving at conclusions about the causes, effects, or trends, in order to explain the present and anticipate future events (Leashore and Cates, 1985). This method is also referred to as 'documentary analysis' and 'historical analysis' (Dawson, 1991: 253). Although Dawson considers these terms synonymous, the researcher has actually seen them as separate methods in this study. Historical research further involves careful and accurate interpretation of the data. As Chambers (1992: 493) argues, one of the researcher's tasks in undertaking historical research is 'to tell stories of the past as accurately, honestly, and fairly as possible'. In this process, the

researcher will 'bring people forward to tell their own stories and provide plausible explanations for the course of events that took place over time'.

Social work researchers have also used historical method to study social welfare history (Jones, 1958; Woodroffe, 1962; Day, 2000) or historical perspective of colonial policy (Hodge, 1973). Most of the issues currently faced by social work professions today have references to the past, characterizing much of the professions' development. Thus, historical study has the ability to increase knowledge concerning social work professions, identify the origins of social policies and social problems, provide an understanding of the organisational, individual, social, political and economic circumstances in which a particular phenomenon occurs, and depict the emergence and development of social welfare services.

Historical research is closely linked to social work, since the discipline has widely incorporated historical study into its knowledge base (Thyer, 2001). Since the current research will serve as one of the knowledge bases of social work history, particularly in the Malaysian context, the use of historical method within this study is deemed highly appropriate. The tendency to equate history with historical research has been indicated by Steedman (2004). However, it has been essential to avoid treating history in similar terms to historical research, which is a methodological process. It should be noted that history, conversely, is a discipline with its own subject enquiry. In fact, historical method, as Chambers (1992) suggest, is relevant to the researcher's account of social welfare policy and child welfare services in Malaysia following the Japanese occupation.

Moreover, social science scholars accept historical research as a type of qualitative research. Much has been written about qualitative research which involves collection of various empirical materials concerning current issues (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Sherman and Reid, 1994; Gay, 1996). Therefore, collecting data from archives is not necessary when the research involves current matters because the agencies or the participants are still in existence.

As a primary method of data collection, document review, as Padgett (1998: 13) argues, 'is familiar to social workers'. Despite the dominance of other research methods in social work, Fisher and Dybicz's (1999: 105) study of doctoral dissertations in social work, which includes 'both theses written for the PhD. and D.S.W degrees,' agrees that historical research is an accepted and significant method for doctoral research in social work.

Social welfare history is an under-researched area in Malaysia and thus the study will serve to provide a comprehensive understanding about social welfare during the British rule in Malaya. Although of late this method has not been popular among social work researchers, it is certainly applicable for the present study, which searches for evidence, clarification, and answers to some of the existing gaps pertaining to the establishment of the Malaysian Department of Social Welfare (DSW), and the provision of social welfare services to children in particular. Due to lack of directly accessible data and secondary resources from the period of 1946-1957, collecting archival materials was deemed necessary. The lack of relevant data within the Malaysian archives prompted the need for the researcher to collect data from British archives. Furthermore, the researcher's situation is unique, unlike other Malaysian researchers

who may have researched events that were either clearly documented in secondary sources or easily traced in various archives.

As a historian erudite in archival research, Steedman (2001, x) reminds us of the appropriateness in using historical research method and archival materials. She notes that many historians 'simply never use the kind of archives' or 'have never taken part in the activity that has been figured as archetypal'. Since the researcher has been working in colonial archives, she is aware of the enormous amount of work that has been done by historians on colonial archives (e.g., Dirks, 1992; Burton, 2001). By way of contrast, the researcher – who is doing a piece of administrative history and probing historical events in relation to the development of child welfare in Malaysia – enters the archives for different purposes from those of Western historians. The next section will discuss the stages in the research process. It explains how the idea for doing the current research began and how the focus on colonial child welfare policy eventually emerged.

The Stages of Conducting Historical Research

Historical research relies on analysing primary materials that are documented in archives (Stuart, 1988). Stuart (1988) and Gay (1996) argue that the more primary sources used for historical method, the better it is for researchers. In fact, archived materials are 'typically unique, irreplaceable, one-of-a-kind items that cannot be obtained elsewhere. The uniqueness of archival materials justifies archive entrance requirements and the strict enforcement of reading room protocols' (Hill, 1993: 22).

Early research work for the present thesis was undertaken in Malaysia from May until September 2001, prior to pursuing the postgraduate study that began on the 1st

October 2001 at the University of Warwick. The topic of interest at this time was the notion of services rendered by the Malaysian DSW, with special reference to older people living in old persons' homes.

The decision to embark on historical approach was made six months into the first year of the postgraduate study. Three services rendered by the DSW during the period of 1946 to 1957 were identified as the main interest of study, namely, the Public Restaurant, Children's Services and Services for the Elderly.

During Phase I of the fieldwork (see Table 3.1), the researcher focussed specifically on files relating to Malaysian Federal, State DSW, and the Colonial Office. However, it was believed that the documents obtained were inadequate because the DSW was 'hitched to departments' (Abdullah, 1992: 372), such as the Department of Labour, the Department of Health, and the Industrial and Social Relation Portfolio, since its inception. Thus, a need to examine and counter-check materials from these departments arose.

The idea of narrowing the area of interest to make it more manageable for the study was a significant issue for the researcher when she returned to the UK from the first phase of fieldwork in Malaysia (see Table 3.1 for Phase II). She found there were many aspects relating to her interest in social welfare involving children in Malaysia from a historical perspective and these needed further clarification. The only way of getting answers was by conducting research on children. Although relevant data concerning children had been previously collected while doing research on child residential care (Salma *et al.*, 2005), it was relatively sparse. What seemed to matter

most was the initial interest in child welfare services and a decision was then made to concentrate only on welfare services for the children that were provided by the DSW.

Besides identifying and gaining access to key primary sources, extensive reading helped narrow the focus of study. Undertaking the search for literature produced by historians and scholars of social science disciplines regarding 'sources, methods, competing interpretive schemes, the kinds and range of questions to be asked, and the appropriate processes for seeking tentative answers' (Chambers, 1992: 494) also helped the researcher reconstruct the research questions. Further progress in the research process included the recommendations made by the School of Health and Social Studies' Upgrading Committee. It recommended two things. First, the researcher needed to concentrate on only one area of service, and second, the researcher should have joint supervision from the History Department.

Steedman was brought in to help and guide the researcher in employing historical research method. Initially, she persistently reminded the researcher to use the historical research method as historians would use it, for instance, when analysing decolonisation issues within the period of study. As the study progressed, Steedman, however, decided to hold herself back from what she knew of the historical components of this situation, mainly decolonisation and welfare states, and told the researcher how she had to often tell herself that, 'she [the researcher] is not doing a PhD in history, she is doing a PhD in social welfare and welfare policy, using historical methodology' (Steedman, 2004).

Both the researcher's supervisors suggested visiting libraries and resource centres in the UK and Malaysia. The researcher was also advised to look for data

regarding the role of voluntary organisations because it was found there were many homes and institutions in Malaya which were run by the government or by private institutions (see Appendices 1 and 2). This was an issue for the researcher at that time because, although materials regarding voluntary bodies could be obtained, it was important to consider the role of voluntary agencies. The implication arising from this issue prompted the researcher to concentrate on the services provided by the DSW and the role of the voluntary agencies. However, the role of these agencies is examined within the available materials collected in the Malaysian archives.

During the second phase of data collection in the second year (refer to Table 3.1 for Phase III and Phase IV), extensive data collection was carried out at all the sites of fieldwork. The researcher decided to search through the scope of homes that accommodated children only. It should be borne in mind that there were some welfare homes where the majority of residents were a mix of the elderly and children, such as the Bedong Welfare Home in Kedah. It was indeed difficult to identify the residents in welfare homes because the reasons for admission into these homes included cases like leprosy or a father's entry into prison, where children had to be separated from the family.

To point out a case of the researcher's experience, she speculated that the Green Lane Home in Penang catered for 'the very many distressed persons, destitute, vagrants, and aged and infirmed' (PS 449/49) as well as a few children. Even at that stage of data collection, the researcher still could not decide whether or not to choose homes which were fully managed by the government for the study because it seemed that almost all the homes were originally established by private organisations. For instance, the

Serendah Boys’ Home was first run by the Save the Children Fund (SCF), which later received grant-in-aid from the government.

Phase	Duration	Sites of Fieldwork
I	October 2001 – March 2002	U.K. <ul style="list-style-type: none">- PRO- Hull University Library
II	June 2002 – July 2002	Malaysia <ul style="list-style-type: none">- ANM, Kuala Lumpur- States Archives (Penang & Kedah/Perlis)
III	August 2002 – May 2003	U.K. <ul style="list-style-type: none">- PRO- Rhodes House Library, Oxford University- HMC- SOAS
IV	June 2003 – August 2003	Malaysia <ul style="list-style-type: none">- States Archives (Kedah/Perlis).- ANM, Kuala Lumpur- DSW, Kuala Lumpur- Interview sessions.- University Malaya Library, Kuala Lumpur- UUM Library, Kedah.- USM Library, Penang.
V	September 2003 & August 2004	U.K. <ul style="list-style-type: none">- PRO

Table 3.1: Phases and sites of fieldwork

Another issue the researcher faced was the scarcity of materials regarding voluntary organisations in Malaya during the period of 1946 to 1957. This was particularly evident as the process of researching came towards an end. Moreover, the titles of the files provided in the List of Descriptive were brief. It needs to be noted that the availability of documents in the files was very much dependent on whether or not

the agencies concerned had sent them to the archives. The safety of the documents sent to the archive was guaranteed but the safety of the documents kept in the original offices was not (Archive Officer (AO), 2003). Despite this assurance, not all offices had sent the documents to the archive.

Most reports in the *Arkib Negara Malaysia* (ANM)¹ only briefly mentioned children, and this made the task of acquiring exact data on children rather difficult. The search was made increasingly difficult due to the fact that issues on children were usually subsumed under other headings, such as, welfare of mothers and young children, women and girls and family welfare. Additionally, the records in these files could not be relied on since other irrelevant matters were also included. For example, the discussion in the minutes of meeting of the Central Welfare Council (CWC) were mainly about:

- i. Welfare week – how to collect money, how much collected;
- ii. Children's Home – visited/holiday, etc.
- iii. Provision of playground equipment for a resettlement area
- iv. Providing equipment for the home

During the collection of data in Phase IV (see Table 3.1), another issue that emerged was whether this study should concentrate on one state only. Nevertheless, due to the fact that materials at the ANM were scattered and imbalanced, and due to time

¹ The ANM was set up in 1957. In the early days of its establishment, the ANM did not have any laws or regulations. Thus, all the collection and restoration work of the materials were done according to orders and circulars. When the ANM Act was enforced in 1966, it was legislated that all government and statutory bodies in the country transfer their records to the ANM Head Office in Kuala Lumpur the moment they reached the age of twenty years. The ANM also have its state branches. The State Archive, based in Johor/Melaka, was the earliest archive to be opened in 1967. It was only when these archives were built that records in the states were sent to Kuala Lumpur.

constraints, the researcher decided to collect as many materials as possible about children living in three chosen children's homes and other types of welfare services for children.

Data Collection Procedures

Sources of materials

Hill (1993) stresses that there is a 'high risk of factual inadequacy and intellectual distortion' concerning an archival study based on materials from one archive only. Mindful of Hill's (1993) concern, other research materials were thus principally sourced from the following academic and resource centres:

United Kingdom:

- i. Public Records Office (PRO)² and Historical Manuscript Commission (HMC)
- ii. Rhodes House Library,³ University of Oxford
- iii. Other libraries

Malaysia:

- i. ANM
- ii. The DSW Resource Room⁴
- iii. Other local university libraries

² From April 2003, the PRO was joined together with the HMC to form the UK National Archives. However, throughout this thesis, the researcher will use the word PRO.

³ Papers of Creech Jones and Margery Perham, for instance, include more on issues pertaining to colonial policy from the political and economic perspectives.

⁴ The Resource Room, located at the DSW Head Office in Kuala Lumpur, was established in 2001. It is the principal source of information for researchers looking for materials in the area of social work and social welfare in Malaysia. It keeps a combination of old and new/current materials. The old materials were obtained from its original place in the DSW Training Institute in Kuala Kubu, Selangor.

Most of the fieldwork to consult original sources was conducted in a variety of libraries and archives in Britain and Malaysia between 2001 and 2004, as shown in Table 3.1. The researcher went back to Malaysia twice to carry out data collection. The first time was from 30 May to 31 July 2002 and the second was from 22 June to 30 August 2003.

Historical records pertaining to Malaysia are found in abundance overseas, but they are scattered in several countries (Hassan, 1981).⁵ Research work in the UK was essential for the review of historical materials, since major source documents reflecting government policies during the colonial period are mainly available in the PRO (PRO pamphlet).⁶

Government documents: Malaya

There are various Malay state administrative files of foremost significance and usefulness to research relating to social welfare services. These range from routine reports regarding departments, committees and councils, annual reports, special reports, correspondence, memoranda, letters, minutes of meetings and government gazettes. Most data were derived from information circulated mainly within Malaya, such as district reports and departmental publications.

For data on welfare services during the immediate post-war period, the researcher looked into the Malayan Union (MU) files,⁷ the British Military

⁵ The biggest collections are kept in Britain, Holland and Portugal. They are also found in India, Japan, France, Thailand and Australia (Hassan, 1981).

⁶ Besides the PRO and the Rhodes House Library, the most important institutions that have Malaysian records in their holdings in the UK are the India Office Records and the British Library.

⁷ The MU Secretariat records measuring slightly more than 85 linear feet cover the MU period 1946-1948. They contain, in the main, correspondence between Head of Department; Resident Commissioners; *Sultan*; Governor General; Secretary of State, London. The whole period was of reconstruction,

Administration (BMA) files, and the Federal Secretariat (FS) files. Additionally, there were files containing internal documents generated within government departments ranging from the Selangor State Secretariat (SS), to the High Commissioner's Office (HCO). These constituted a rich source of data on local level decision-making and perceptions pertaining to social welfare services in Malaya. Other files relating to government agencies, such as the DSW, the Information Department, and the Labour Department were also referred.

The SS files also proved to be another rich source of information for the period of 1946 to 1957. Unfortunately, the immense bulk of some file series (the SS files are over 1300 linear feet long) made it difficult to thoroughly examine every file in a particular series for all the nine Malay states. Two states were selected for detailed examination in this study, namely, Selangor and Malacca. In terms of resource materials, the selection of these two states was for specific reasons. While the majority of all government files were destroyed before or during the Pacific War, almost all States Council minutes have survived. These SS files represent the most completed, indexed collection of English and Malay records in Malaya (P/ANM 2), and thus facilitated the study.⁸

Finding aids, such as accessions lists, descriptive lists of correspondence files and general indices compiled by the archive staffs, assisted the researcher in locating relevant documents. However, because of the unevenness of in-depth research on some

rehabilitation and reorganization of and the government departments and this theme was reflected in these records (Satinam, undated).

⁸ The ANM has produced a few indices. The FS Record Group of Index contains a list of the FS Office files, dated from 1935 until 1957. The files are divided into two groups; the first group holds up to 34 boxes containing files dated 1941-1948, and the second group holds up to 58 boxes containing files dated 1949-1957.

states' DSW and due to lack of file indices and incomplete or destroyed file series, data for some states in Malaya were dealt with in a more general manner in this study.

Government documents: UK

In London, the PRO houses Colonial and Foreign Office files plus sundry other primary source materials. Colonial Office files reveal a more general outlook concerning the decisions to administer an empire. Most often, London's official interest focused on a committee's report or minutes of meetings such as the Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee (CSWAC) and the Child and Youth Welfare Sub-Committee (CYWSC). In terms of interest and content, these files are distinct from those located in the Malaysian National Archives. Parliamentary materials were also used as a source of data in this study, mostly pertaining to colonial economic policy such as the Colonial Development and Welfare (CDW) Acts.

Contemporary periodicals (newspapers)

According to Galbraith (1964: 44), data sources such as newspapers, 'provide a mass of factual information unobtainable elsewhere'. Glenn (1994), furthermore, asserts that:

Newspapers are a particularly valuable source because of the very nature of their existence...because of [being] regularly published at set intervals, unlike diaries and letters, there are no important pieces of the historical puzzle missing... datable, the exact date, so that the exact date can be established.

(Glenn, 1994: 50)

‘Newspaper value lies in the fact that it is strictly contemporary conventions’ (Tuchman, 1994: 321). Researching newspapers is thus essential since it can handle a vast quantity of information directly, based on daily, weekly or monthly activities. It also ‘involves understanding the social context of the period under examination’ (Glenn, 1994: 52).

Most newspapers referred to are in English and Malay (mostly in the *Jawi* [Arabic alphabet used in Malay writing] script). Among these sources were the *Chermin Malaya*, the *Malayan Daily News*, *The Malay Mail*, and the *Malaya Tribune*. The published contemporary sources listed in the bibliography include only those which have been cited in this study. These represent about half of the work of this kind that were consulted. However, the obvious drawback to the use of periodical was the fact that they lack indices, which greatly hindered data retrieval. Another drawback was that Malay language periodicals tended to be short-lived.

Private papers

During visits to ANM and the Rhodes House, the researcher also took the opportunity to look into private papers. Materials in such a collection varied, normally consisting of books, magazines, newspapers, films, files, photographs, private and official correspondence, articles, diaries, etc. (Hassan, 1981). However, in the researcher’s judgement, data from private papers were found to be less relevant for this research.

Working with the resources

The collection of data in this study involved searching for both primary and secondary source documents. Secondary sources included books, journals, dissertations, and theses. The study also incorporated oral history (interviews). Both the secondary sources and interviews provided valuable supplementary materials for the study. This was indeed a laborious task, involving use of a substantial body of data garnered from a wide range of sources.

Primary sources comprised a variety of official archive materials, ranging from official documents to periodicals, government documents, newspapers and private papers, of which most were in English.

Administrative records of the government social agency can be used for data collection (Hakim, 1993) in research. The use of administrative records and documents as the main source of data can provide valuable information about the history of an important government social agency or social welfare institution (Padgett, 1998), as well as individuals, groups and communities (Leashore and Cates, 1985). Four types of resource materials were examined, including administrative files of the Malay state governments, British colonial documents, contemporary newspapers, and private papers.

The researcher's work schedule conformed to the hours during which resource centres or archives were opened, typically from 9.00 am to 4.00 pm, and sometimes until 6.00 pm or 7.00 pm, both in the UK and Malaysia. The researcher had to consult documents within the appropriate libraries, examining what was on the shelves, taking careful notes, and searching the stacks. Revisiting archives was necessary to reread

material and compare materials obtained from other resource centres in order to expand the data. In other words, as Hill (1993: 67) points out, archival research is 'iterative and continuing'.

Accessibility and acceptance at the study sites

Access to primary materials was a major issue that the researcher had to bear in mind. Since all social research involves ethical considerations, as noted by Blaxter, Hughes, and Tight (2001), there are principles to be followed:

Research ethics are about being clear about the nature of the agreement you have entered into with your research subjects or contacts.Ethical research involves getting the informed consent of those you are going to interview, question, observe or take materials from. It involves reaching agreements about the uses of these data, and how the analysis will be reported and disseminated.

(Blaxter *et al.*, 2000: 158)

The researcher had to follow certain regulations to conduct research in Malaysia, as set up by the Socio-Economic and General Planning Research Unit (SEGPRU) of the Prime Minister's Department, the co-ordinating agency in all matters pertaining to research in government agencies. This is to ensure that 'the results of the research are beneficial to the country and no specimens are taken out of the country without the approval of the department concerned' (EPU, 1999). As a multi-ethnic country, certain issues are considered sensitive⁹ because they are believed to elicit feelings of 'prejudice,

⁹ These issues are: the power and status of the Malay Rulers; the status of Malay as the sole national language; the status of Islam as the official religion; Malay 'special rights' and 'privileges; and citizenship rights of non-Malays.

hatred, enmity or contempt between or towards any ethnic or religious group' (EPU, 1999). To abide by the regulations mentioned above, the researcher had to be mindful of not using or analysing the data in a way that could arouse racial sentiment among the different ethnic groups. Nevertheless, this does not mean that use of research within ethnic groups in Malaysia is problematic as long as the researcher is particularly cautious when discussing issues relating to each ethnic group.

Due to the highly bureaucratic nature of Malaysian government agencies, an application form for conducting this study together with the research proposal was submitted to the SEGPRU two months before the first fieldwork (see Table 3.1 Phase II). The researcher obtained permission, was issued a Research Pass, and was registered as an authorized researcher by the ANM. On completing her study, the researcher is required to submit three copies of her final report to the SEGPRU. The regulation also states that should it be deemed necessary, the researcher is required to present and discuss the findings to the SEGPRU.

However, in relation to accessibility of archival materials in the UK, no such formality was imposed except that proof of identity or written request was required in advance. The researcher then had to fill in application forms before she was given a Reader Pass.

Interview sessions (oral history)

Historical data may be derived from oral interviews (Graham and Al-Krenawi, 2001). The best historical research study is based on an exploration of primary sources that provide the exact words of the witnesses or first recorders of an event (Stuart, 1988). In

fact, as Stuart (1988) further argues, dependence on archive data blinds the researcher to inaccuracies, misperceptions, omissions and biases of the colonial state. Interviews often provide the researcher with data not available in written sources, which are of help in filling some gaps. Furthermore, through interviews, the researcher obtained further evidence to support the archival materials by comparing each piece of evidence with all other pieces, and determined the extent of agreement.

A researcher must have ability to assess the appropriateness of a participant in contributing to the study. Seidman (1991) emphasises that the major criterion for this appropriateness is whether the subject of the researcher's study is central to the participant's experience. On one hand, understanding the experiences of individuals during their past is a powerful way of gaining insight into social welfare issues relevant to this study. On the other hand, the researcher needed to be very careful in selecting interviewees, for there was a possibility that they may provide incorrect information, forget what they wanted to say, amplify facts or add details so as to make their story interesting, as was the case was with one of the informants.

In this study, the researcher identified five participants who were key people who had personal experience of working at the DSW during the British colonial period. The participants comprised three female and two male respondents. They were chosen from a list of names of persons regarded as pioneers of social work in Malaysia, printed in a publication by the Malaysian Association of Social Workers (MASW) (undated), *A Tribute to Pioneers 54 Years of Social Work Malaysia* in conjunction with the 30th anniversary of the MASW. The respondents' background of experiences and qualifications is given in Appendix 3. Another participant, an experienced officer at the

ANM, was also interviewed to find out about the accessibility of archival materials. The researcher was well aware of the very tight schedule of some of the participants and at one time, a telephone interview was even conducted.¹⁰

Generally, during all interviews, the participants were generous in imparting knowledge and sharing views and opinions pertaining to their experiences of social welfare services and social welfare work during the colonial period. This data could not possibly have been collected if the study had been carried out through other methods. The interviews provided data which extended the researcher's understanding and interpretations of the situation as it was as well as supplied rich information of personal views and experience. The anonymity (Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, 2001) of the respondents in the interviews was observed, by using the following codes:

- i. EWO = Ex-Welfare Officer
- ii. AO = Archive Officer

Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview schedule (see Appendix 3) designed by the researcher was used to guide her in focusing on relevant issues during the interviews. Three of the interviews were carried out during office hours in the participants' offices, and two were carried out in the participants' residence, constituting the likely situation in which interviews can occur as pointed out by Blaxter *et al.* (2001). The interviews lasted from

¹⁰ For instance, interviewing a person such as Ex-Welfare Officer (EWO) 4 challenged the researcher's patience. The researcher had to follow her schedule and adjust it many times, since she was very busy with her involvement in various NGO activities. At one time, EWO 4 herself telephoned the researcher and gave some of the information that the researcher needed.

one hour to one and a half hours. Most interviewees conversed in a mixture of English and Malay.

All the interview sessions were audio taped and fully transcribed, which benefited the researcher, even though transcribing the interviews was time-consuming. The transcription allowed the researcher to reliably work with the words of the participants. Additionally, recording of the interviews was beneficial because the researcher had the original data.

Data Analysis

Acquiring data in historical research is not an easy task given that it involves systematic, objective data collection and analysis. Content analysis is the approach used to analyse documents (Padgett, 1998) in this study. When approaching or examining a source, among the questions that the researcher always bore in mind were who wrote this document and for what purpose?, and how does this document relate to the previous one? (Hill, 1993; Jones, 1994; Jordanova, 2000; Blaxter *et al.*, 2001).

Processing the data involved collecting, classifying, evaluating and interpreting the materials available. The researcher had to select and identify the necessary materials and sources to be analysed. The researcher strove to focus on some of the linking events to explain the circumstances relating to the development of social welfare services for children. Among the events were the impacts of British colonialism, the aftermath of the War, the re-establishment of British colonial administration, and the road to independence. These events clarified how the colonial government took responsibility

in response to those changes by formulating social welfare services for children in Malaya, implemented through the DSW.

Analysis of the data was carried out by sifting through files and separating them according to specific themes, such as, early social welfare services, colonial welfare policy, services for children, and policy towards children. Furthermore, the researcher needed some knowledge of government administration and related events in the period of study. Thus, the researcher searched for and not only used all pertinent materials, but tried to be imaginative with regard to information that might appear in sources, according to the research questions under study (Leashore and Cates, 1985).

Generally, the researcher organised her findings by using thematic and chronological presentation (Stuart, 1988: 358). Several researchers have employed a historical method (Kai, 1987; Harper, 1991; Leong, 1999; Oong, 2000) using a chronological approach (Kai, 1987) and a thematic approach (Harper, 1991) in their studies. Employing the strategy of illustrative style as suggested by May (1997), the researcher was able to select data that could illustrate general themes and support specific examples.

Methodological Issues that Emerged from the Study

Archival works in Malaysia and UK

It should be noted that comparing resource centres between Malaysia and UK is like comparing “the land with the sky” (a Malay proverb) since one has to look at various angles to find similarities and differences. Each country has its own way of keeping their records safe, its own history of organisational set up, and management systems. In

the case of the ANM establishment, prior to the Second World War, no action was taken to formulate a systematic process of establishing the archives. After the surrender of the Japanese, the government was obliged to concentrate its attention on many pressing issues connected with rehabilitation and later with the Emergency. As a result, the establishment of the archives was delayed. The widespread destruction of official documents all over Malaya during the Japanese occupation further contributed to the impression that the archival issue was of low priority (P/ANM2).

Whilst most of the resource centres in the UK are searchable via online catalogues, enabling documents to be ordered before a visit to the site, the ANM is only just moving towards this. Materials sent over to the ANM after 1997 are being electronically entered into the system. However, the progress of computerisation for older materials is slightly delayed because the archive staffs have to physically identify the contents of each file (AO, 2003), which is very time consuming.

Accessibility, availability and constraints of data in the UK

As previously indicated, private papers were also looked into. However, the private papers in the UK are located at various libraries and are not centralised at one archive as the researcher discovered when she wanted resources about colonial officers' private papers listed in the catalogue available at the Historical Manuscript Commission (HMC).

Much of the materials in the Colonial Office records in PRO were organised according to country and the relevant record series for the country required were relatively easy to determine. However, this way of organisation was not of much help to

the researcher because when looking for “Malaya” as a country, several general records were presented. The researcher then sought to cross check with various names and subject searches using “colonial” as the keyword, and then the period around 1946 to 1957. The researcher accessed records using the Colonial Office (CO) index shelved with the CO catalogues, or by searching the name of the country in online catalogues. To the researcher, the online catalogue, although not necessarily comprehensive, was a useful means of searching for both subject series and advisory committee records.

The PRO also holds records of the British government relating to the British Empire. These constituted an invaluable resource for the study of British policy on Malaya and the broader history of British political, social, and economic policies. However, the availability of the manuscripts depended on colonial officials who wrote about matters considered to be vital from their own perspective. ‘Although the source materials on such themes among these records were available, their occurrence depends on their importance to administrators; periods of unrest, for instance, might prompt greater surveillance of indigenous populations’ (PRO pamphlet, 2000). This means that many aspects of social history, in particular, were ignored as compared to economic and political issues related to colonial government.

Accessibility, availability and constraints of data in Malaysia

Any researcher intending to search for records at the ANM will be asked to consult the Information and Enquiry Desk who will then advise the researcher to go through the List of Descriptions and the List of Accessions. These lists have been available since the establishment of the ANM in 1957 up to the present. Based on the period of study

(1946-57), the most relevant lists were the List of Accession 1957-1967 and the List of Accession 1968. However, at the suggestion of the archive staff, the researcher had to look at the current lists (lists after 1968) as well. For although the state archive offices were built much later, this does not mean that the earliest records of the state can be found at the ANM Headquarters in Kuala Lumpur. It depended, as previously indicated, largely on whether or not the office or the government agencies, who were requested to send the old records as soon as the ANM was established in 1957, had complied on time. Some departments sent their records later than the stated date, while some had sent older records, such as from the 1940s, together with those from a much later date, for example in 1970. Thus, records dated around the 1940s can also be found among those from the 1970s. Another issue is that the contents of the List of Accessions are always mixed up, due to their not being chronologically arranged (AO, 2003).

Contents of the opened files generally concerned the minutes of meetings, letters and memos. Unfortunately, some of the minutes of meetings were found to be incomplete, missing or empty (e.g., DSW 29).¹¹ For instance, the researcher could not access the Annual Report of Malaya 1957, which resulted in a reduction in the amount of data, especially when analysing the continuity of the report. Another example, the free meals for school children issue was reported in the minutes of meetings from 1946 to 1953 but the reports after that period were not in the file. However, no particular reason was given by the archive staff for it being missing. Thus, the researcher decided

¹¹ According to the List of Description, the file DSW 29, entitled Selangor Children's Home, covering the years 1946-50, had 194 pages. However, to the researcher's dismay, the file was empty.

not to rely on these minutes because of missing pages or they are not arranged in order.¹²

In one case, during the second fieldwork data collection in Malaysia (see Table 3.1 Phase IV), some of the files from the *Federal Secretariat Kumpulan Kedua 1848-1957* could not be borrowed because they were in the process of being bar-coded, which constituted a further constraint to the accessibility of data.¹³

Annual reports of departments represent the most important source of reference because they record in detail all activities and statistics about the organisation under study. During the period of study, Federation of Malaya Annual Report (FMAR) existed, but its content was slightly different from that of the department annual report. The FMAR stated concisely all the activities and statistics from various government agencies, including the DSW. However, the researcher only managed to get hold of the Annual Report of the DSW since its establishment in 1946 to 1948. Reports between the years 1949-1957 were not available. Some of the DSWAR found in *Setiausaha Kerajaan* (SUK) file was incomplete causing a gap in the report. Inevitably, the researcher had to rely only on the FMAR for data during the period of 1949 until 1957.¹⁴

¹² During the time of data collection, the materials at PRO were chronologically arranged. Papers in the file were bound using 'green strings' originally used during the colonial period. However, in the ANM that was not the case. The 'green strings' were taken out of the file in the belief that it would damage. This caused difficulty for researchers because the file materials are not as originally arranged.

¹³ During the second fieldwork (Phase IV), the researcher requested a file which had already been opened during the first data collection (refer to Phase II) (DCL 83/48). However, she was unable to get it since the ANM's staff could not trace that file again.

¹⁴ In one case, when the researcher requested a file to be said to have 194 pages as stated in the List of Description, the file was actually empty. The ANM staffs themselves could not trace the missing pages. The reason given was that when some departments borrowed some files, they forgot to return them. Materials are sometimes re-borrowed by departments and are not all completely returned to ANM.

There were a number of gaps in the documentation of Malaysian history, caused in part by white ants (termites), the climate and also destruction of files that took place during the Japanese occupation when large quantities of official documents, printed reports and other records were destroyed. Additionally, many records have been destroyed and damaged because of poor storage conditions.¹⁵ This further justifies why the period beginning in 1946 was chosen in the present study.

In the British colonial administrative structure, the SS was one of the most important repositories of documents. It contained communications with higher authorities, state-level discussion issues, and perhaps most importantly a large amount of local details reported by the districts, much of which was transmitted to the High Commissioner or, if at all, in summary to London. The SS files are one of the most fruitful sources a social or economic historian can use. However, the SS did not only hold or contain materials about a particular state; it also at times, included reports of other states. Although the Annual Report of the Settlement of Malacca 1949 and of other states existed as well, these collections were regrettably badly damaged during the Japanese occupation, except for those of the states of Kedah and Selangor. For example, files complete with card, subject, index, and register books from 1909 to 1942 can still be found in Kedah (P/ANM2, undated).

¹⁵ During his tour to Malaya in 1957, H.N. Blakiston, an archive expert from the PRO of London, found that government files, which formed the bulk of the records of most departments, were only rarely kept in a satisfactory condition. Many were damaged by damp, insects and rats, and old files were often relegated to the floor of company storerooms with old tyres and scrap iron. Valuable records were found collecting dust and scattered in attics, garages and along corridors of the government offices. At that time, there were no general rules for the disposal of valueless documents (Hassan, 1981).

Administrative and technical issues in Malaysian archives

While most archives were opened to the public on working days and some archives provided extended hours and/or weekend access, some were closed during local festivities. In terms of manpower, some archives did not have sufficient staff to deal with researchers and to retrieve documents from the repository (Habibah, 1987). Thus, the availability of documents was restricted to a specified time. In some archives, during lunch break, new applications for documents were not accepted. The constant switching of staff on duty also affected the amount of time taken to photocopy materials.

Some archival institutions placed restrictions on the amount of records to be made available. For instance, researchers were restricted to borrow one box or five items at a time. The time taken to find pertinent documents was around 30 minutes (at PRO), and sometimes longer if the archive's staff could not find the material on the shelves (at ANM). However, at PRO, the researcher could write in via e-mail, post, or make a call to reserve documents beforehand. This facility effectively reduced the time needed to access the materials during the actual visit.¹⁶

Even though the study is about services rendered by the DSW, it should be noted that during data collection in Malaysia, various government agencies were also involved, such as the Health Department. However, this was not of much help since there were huge amounts of files that the researcher needed to look into.

¹⁶ In one case at Penang State Archive, the researcher had to wait for the document to arrive for more than half an hour due to technical problems. It took the staff a long time to finish photocopying the work, although there was no other researcher at the time. The researcher was told that the suitable size of paper for printing had run out and there was a problem with the photocopying machine. Since smaller sized papers (A4) were used for photocopying, the staff had to physically write down the two missing lines.

Both Britain and Malaysia have similar rights of access to archives for their citizens. In Malaysia, under the National Archives Act No. 44 of 1966, records that are over 25 years, which have been reviewed for permanent preservation at the ANM, are open for consultation to every researcher. However, some of the records requested by the researcher could not be accessed because they were still recorded “confidential”, and because of certain technical problems. For instance, the ANM staff said that they had given some documents to the respective government departments to certify public access. Unfortunately, the documents were not returned to the ANM. When the ANM staff tried to find out what had actually happened, it was discovered that the documents were no longer at that office. Thus, the records of the agencies are still considered “confidential” and not accessible to the public until they are returned/transferred back to the ANM (Habibah, 1987; AO, 2003).¹⁷

Notes on the interviews

The researcher did not strictly follow the sequence of questions in the interview guide during interviews because the participants could not provide objective answers within the frame of semi-structured questions. The researcher felt the discussion could be much more relaxed and the participants would be more responsive if she pursued the issues and situations the participants raised. At the same time, the researcher made an effort to focus on the issues raised during the discussions, as Seidman (1991: 69) reminds us,

¹⁷ Even though there was a specific Act to preserve the materials, some of the archive staffs were not aware of its existence. The materials intended for preservation should have been selected first by the ANM. However, such a job was not assigned to anyone. ‘But who should be in charge of that? Is it the clerk? Whilst the clerk does not know which is which, the officer would be too busy and probably that is not included in their job description’ (EWO 1, 2003). The level of awareness might differ from that in the developed countries (AO, 2003).

‘the questions most used in an in-depth interview follow from what the participant has said’.

During the course of the interviews, the participants showed a preference to talking about the best experiences they had, which the researcher instantly took as an indication that they were in control of both the issue and cessation of the discussion. This became a challenge for the researcher in controlling the flow, progress and focus of the interviews so that the discussion would not substantially deviate from the issues raised in the questions. For instance, when discussing questions regarding child welfare services, such as children’s home, EWO 5, who among the six participants was more involved in services for children, could not vividly recall any of her experiences which would have provided significant answers. She repeatedly said, ‘I can’t remember, it’s a long time ago’. With regards to children’s services in the DSW, other participants (e.g., EWO 1 and EWO 2) said that they were not the right persons to talk about children and recommended the researcher to talk to other officers, such as EWO 4 or EWO 5. EWO 2 (2003) said that ‘EWO 4 had a lot of experience with school children, so did EWO 5 when she was in Kelantan, she had lots of experience with school children’. In the case of EWO 1, even though he talked about his working experience at the Serendah Boys’ Home, he had worked there for only a very short period.

The other constraint faced by the researcher was that two out of six participants declined to have their opinions recorded. Blaxter *et al.* (2001:173) notes that sometimes the researcher ‘cannot afford or get access to a tape recorder’ so note-taking should be used instead. In sum, each of the participants had his/her own style in responding to the

interviews and was, obviously, busy with his/her own involvement in the Non-governmental organisations (NGO).

Other constraints involved

Conducting archival fieldwork was time consuming, and it did affect performance during the data collection process. As Tosh (2000) suggests, there is a need to look into this problem seriously since research using primary sources can be painfully slow. Having a research assistant would have helped, as time spent in browsing the catalogues or indices could have been reallocated to other vital work such as scanning the materials found in selected files. It is worth noting that spending a lot of time and opening hundreds of files at the archives did not guarantee the researcher to acquire as much data as required.

Although materials collected from the archives were abundant, the researcher had to learn what historians call the “slash and burn” technique, that is, making decisions as to what is relevant and what to throw away, a technique unfamiliar to most sociologists and social scientists (Steedman, 2003). Nevertheless, it was actually a painful decision to leave out something that had been so difficult to acquire just because it was not relevant. The researcher also learnt how to cross-reference between different kinds of documents and sources (Steedman, 2003), which is considered an important step in historical method.

The researcher anticipated problems with the amount of time this research demanded as well as the high cost of travelling, photocopying, and administrative work involved. Due to time and financial constraints, the researcher was unable to visit all

state archives in Malaysia or to prolong the search for valuable materials such as newspapers.¹⁸

To be involved in a social work, a new field for the researcher, at UUM, and to use historical method to research children's welfare in Malaysia posed an immense challenge to the researcher. Nevertheless, the abovementioned constraints did not diminish the researcher's enthusiasm to go through the archives and discover sort of data they have to offer. The experience of working within the archives has significantly contributed to the researcher's awareness that having a background or experience in writing in the historical context is insufficient if one has 'never set foot in a national archive' (Steedman, 2001: x) before because researching archives is essential to the collection of materials when secondary sources are not readily available. Nevertheless, the researcher concurs with Jones Finer (2001a: 80) that she should '*never* turn down the chance to research an archive', for such an experience has already fitted her interest in continuing the work. The researcher is enthusiastic about continuing further research on Malaysian social work history using archival materials since many more aspects within this field can be researched on.

Conclusion

The explication of the above documentary and qualitative methodology, in which their justification and suitability for this study have been presented, could provide an alternative platform for researchers in social work who are keen to use archival sources

¹⁸ Although the researcher was able to get financial support from University Utara Malaysia (UUM), and University of Warwick, the money was not sufficient to cover the entire cost of lodging, photocopying, etc. in both countries.

in their study. Researching archives has revealed coherent and useful information, that provided answers to questions, particularly those that confirm the origin of an event or a phenomenon. The historical documents used in this study provided substantial data for Chapters 6-9. Before analysis of these documents is considered, we will look into the background of Malaya as the context of the study in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 4

MALAYA

Introduction

This chapter describes a general account of Malaya and the society during pre-colonial and the colonial period of British administration.¹ It focuses on the colonial administration and highlights the existence of a multiethnic society during the British rule that resulted in the ensued societal complexity. The chapter considers the impact of colonisation on the traditional Malay society's socio-political and economic structures. It will account for the importance of Malaya as an asset for the British government. This chapter also examines the impact of the Japanese occupation, an important factor that influenced the country's social welfare services. Furthermore, it looks into the explanation for Britain's initial lack of response towards Malaya when the Japanese occupation ended in 1945. The last part of this chapter brings into focus issues, such as the economic importance of Malaya, and the Emergency and how it relates to ethnic disturbances which the British government had to consider during post-war reconstruction in Malaya. These issues closely interrelate and serve to influence the government's policy towards social welfare in Malaya.

¹ The pre-colonial period covers the duration prior to the active British intervention in the Federated Malay States (FMS) and it constitutes the period from the early fifteenth century to the eighteenth century.



Figure 4.1: Map of Malaya in 1941
Source: Adapted from Heussler (1985)

General Description

The Federation of Malaya, covering an area of approximately 50,850 square miles, was situated in the southern section of the Kra Peninsula, which protruded from the south-eastern corner of Asia between India and China. It was made up of eleven states: Perlis, Kedah, Penang, Perak, Selangor (with the Federal Capital Territory of Kuala Lumpur), Melaka, Johor, Negeri Sembilan, Pahang, Terengganu and Kelantan located in

Peninsular Malaysia (see Figure 4.1),² and two states of Sabah and Sarawak on the northern coast of Borneo Island. About four-fifths of the surface of the peninsula is still covered by dense tropical jungle, in which communication is rendered difficult by mountains and rivers. The principal features of the Malayan climate are copious rainfall, high humidity and uniformity of temperature that rarely varies during the day by more than fifteen degrees (P/PM (EK) 1).

The total population of Malaya in 1947 was 4.908 million and it increased to 6.279 million in 1957 (McGhee, 1964).³ The total number of Malay children in the age group of 6-12 was approximately 431,000 in 1947. The total school enrolment for Malay boys in 1948 was 175,078, while 44,787 girls enrolled in school that same year (CO 859/225/2; CO 997/16). The figures in Table 4.1 show the children’s population in Malaya between zero and fourteen years old according to their ethnicity and it is divided into three age groups: 0-4 years, 5-9 years, and 10-14 years in 1947. The total child population was 19.456 million.

Ethnic groups	0-4 years	5-9 years	10-14 years
Malays	339.1	363.3	286.2
Chinese	225.1	283.8	238.5
Indians	60.8	65.0	61.9
Others	7	7.9	7
Total	632.1	719.9	593.6

Table 4.1: Numbers of children in Malaya between 0-14 years old in 1947 (thousands)⁴

Source: Adapted from P/PER 5

² Some names of the states that were used during the British period of administration are different from their current names (in brackets) for example: Penang (Pulau Pinang), Malacca (Melaka), and Johore (Johor). All these names are used interchangeably in this study. The spellings of places in Malaysia are not uniform and one frequently finds variation in words such as Baru (for example, Johor Baru), which can also be rendered to Bharu or Bahru (Andaya and Andaya, 2001).

³ When census figures are used, it must also be remembered that until, and including 1947, Singapore appears together with the Federation of Malaya (Kennedy, 1962).

⁴ There are no figures for other years in the report, although it was published in 1957.

According to the 1953 report, children over six and below thirteen years of age numbered approximately 1,141,000 (P/PM 3 *FMAR*, 1953). However, this report only indicates children between the ages of 6-13 years. Thus, the children's population in 1947 and in 1953 seems to provide an indication of the number of children during the period of study.

The Background of Colonial Administration

The invasion of Malaya by several powers, namely, the Portuguese, the Dutch, the British, and the Japanese, began in the middle of the sixteenth century. The fall of the Malacca Sultanate to the Portuguese in 1511 indicated the beginning of the expansion of the foreign powers and their influence in Malaya. However, during this period, other Malay states (Perlis, Kedah, Kelantan, Pahang, Perak, Terengganu, Negeri Sembilan, Selangor and Johore) were administered by the nine Malay sultanates, which ruled their own states and, indeed, made Malaya appear like nine countries (Khoo, 1979).

Direct British rule was first established in the Straits Settlements, consisting of Penang (1786), Singapore (1819) and Malacca (1826). The takeover of the administration of the Malay states became even more active with the signing of the Pangkor Treaty in 1874 in Perak, which marked the beginning of direct interference and extension of British rule in Malaya. The chaotic situation in Selangor, Negeri Sembilan and Pahang further opened the path for the British to interfere, and this led to the formation of the FMS in 1896. Kedah, Perlis, Terengganu, Kelantan and Johore were then referred to as the Unfederated Malay States (UFMS). By the middle of the

nineteenth century, the British influence had extended to Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo.

As stated in Chapter 1, the opportunity to rule Malaya after the Japanese surrender added new responsibilities for the British administration, including rebuilding of the British influence after an absence of more than three years. A new temporary military government was then formed, the British Military Administration (BMA), which operated from September 1945 until March 1946. However, it was a short administration due to staff incapability such as lack of experience, inefficiency, and corruption (Heussler, 1985; Mohd Isa, 2002).

The Malayan Union (MU), which was established in April 1946, consisted of all nine Malay states, and the settlements of Penang and Malacca called for a constitutional union of Malaya and the institution of a Malayan citizenship. In the White Paper on the constitutional future of Malaya (Kratoska, 1998), the British government expressed its intention to take over the administration and build a nation state by integrating Chinese and Indian communities into a single Malayan community, hoping that liberal citizenship regulations would encourage the integration of non-Malays.

However, the MU was turned into the Federation of Malaya in 1948, as there was great opposition from the Malay society. It was a federation of the same states as those in the Union where a list of state powers and Malay “special rights” were restored.⁵ Most importantly, strict citizenship provisions, seen as key protection for the survival of the Malay society, were instituted. A Conference of Rulers, assisted by Malay advisers, was established. The Conference met at least three times a year with

⁵ The rights refer to Islam, Malay language and Malay Rulers.

the High Commissioner to discuss matters concerning the welfare of the people (Middlebrook and Pinnick, 1949). The establishment of the Federation restored the power and position of the *sultans* (ruler in Arabic; king of each state) as sovereign rulers in their own states. The Federation stated that the final objective of the British was to secure the success of a local administration in the near future. To achieve this goal, the British planned to introduce an election system to appoint a few Judicial Councils members.

A state of Emergency was declared nationwide by the British administration on 16th June 1948,⁶ when the Malayan Communist Party (MCP) began an insurrection, and this lasted until 1960. In the early mid-1948, members of the MCP, consisting almost entirely of Chinese, returned to the jungles and began a guerrilla war of national liberation. However, the MCP did not attract Malays or Indians to its cause (see section on Discussion in this Chapter).

The forming of the Communities Liaison Committees in 1949 which comprised the top leaders of ethnic communities and a British official, was an early attempt at ethnic cooperation. In 1951, the British introduced a Member System⁷ to help the people of Malaya prepare for the running of their country. The introduction of the system was a highly important step towards independence, and a formal exercise in gaining experience to rule the country democratically.

⁶ The British declared a State of Emergency when three European planters were killed in their bungalows at Sungai Siput in Perak by a gang of Chinese communists armed with sten guns.

⁷ The six unofficial members of the Federal Legislative Council appointed as members of the Federal Executive Council by the High Commissioner, were three Malays, one European, one Chinese and one Ceylonese. They were given portfolios to carry out duties as ministers in charge of government departments such as Education, Health, Works and Housing, and Home Affairs.

The victory of the alliance of three major ethnic groups – United Malays National Organisation, the Malayan Chinese Association, and the Malayan Indian Committee – in the general election in 1955 enabled them to have representatives on the Federal Legislative Council and eventually to establish a government. On 31st August 1957, the Federation of Malaya attained independence within the British Commonwealth of Nations (Maday *et al.*, 1965).

The Impact of British Colonisation

The process of colonisation varied considerably in its impact. In the case of Malaya, what constituted the most important outcome from colonisation was that Britain ultimately became the dominant power in Malaya, even though the country was colonized by other Imperial powers. The British incursions into the country brought far greater infiltration of Western institutions, culture and values, which resulted in drastic changes of the existing traditional Malay systems of administration, economy and structure of the society.

The formation of a plural society

Before the advent of British colonialism, Malaya was sparsely populated with no more than a quarter of a million people, mostly traditional peasants and fishermen, living in small settlements along the coasts and rivers (Jackson, 1961). The original populations of Malaya, Malay peasants and aboriginal peoples, made up the labour force until the

middle of the nineteenth century.⁸ During that time, there were only a few other ethnic groups including Chinese, Indians and other communities. The supposed temporary presence of Chinese and Indians was for the purpose of trading and entrepreneurship only. However, it is believed that most immigrants did not return to their homelands after a short stay in the peninsula but rather adapted to the local community (Parmer, 1960).

The development of tin and rubber industries resulted in massive migration of Chinese and Indian labours into Malaya who hoped for a better life. Demands for this labour increased from time to time throughout the nineteenth century due to their low cost (Fuziah and Ruslan, 2000). Around 89,900 Chinese came to Malaya in 1881, and by 1927, it was estimated that more than 6 million Chinese had migrated into Malaya (Choo, 1985: 56). Meanwhile, no further large-scale migration among the Indians took place until the 1840s, when there was a high demand in the agricultural sector for contract labours on sugar cane and coffee plantations. The greatest influx of Indian labour took place from 1911 to 1930, rising to as many as 125,000 a year until 1920.

Whilst the Malayan population was less than half a million in 1870, the number increased to 3.3 million in 1921. By the time Malaya reached its independence in 1957, the Malays were outnumbered by the Chinese and Indians. For instance, in 1931, the non-Malays were 53.2 per cent, of which 39 per cent were Chinese. In contrast, the Malays formed only 44.7 per cent of the total population (Gullick, 1969).

⁸ It is certain that contacts, traders, and even settlers from India and China came to the Malay Peninsula over many centuries (Purcell, 1967). There was a strong impact of Indian civilization on Malay culture, such as the system of rule by rajas, and a large number of Sanskrit words were brought into the Malay language.

The Chinese and Indians brought their own particular way of life from their countries of origin: religious beliefs, dialects, cultures, social organisation, guilds, secret societies, and those special characteristics of 'unremitting industry, and business and industrial acumen which had given them a dominating part in the economic life of Malaya' (Moorhead, 1963: 197). They still maintained their own identity and practiced their own traditional ways of life, even though they were living in Malaya, without interfering with one another's customs and values. In Furnivall's words, it was a society in which 'each group [held] its own religion, its groups, living side by side, but separately, within the same political unit' (Furnivall, 1956: 304). Despite the fact that all groups were living in a multiethnic community, each community limited its loyalties to its own group. Thus, it was difficult to sense a national cohesiveness among the various groups.

The ethnic group respective belief systems shaped the values and behaviour of the Malayan population. There were as many religions or religious affiliations as there were multiethnic groups. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine all the belief systems among the three major ethnic groups in Malaya. The Malays were bound by the common tie of Islam, which arrived in Malaya in the thirteenth century (Willer, 1975; Fuziah and Ruslan, 2000), and the conversion of the Malays to Islam was largely completed by the seventeenth century.⁹ As Muslims, the Malays believe in one God, and that Mohamed is their prophet. While the individual is the centre of social relations, the Muslim believes that the welfare of the community, including the care of

⁹ Under the Federal Constitution, Islam is the official religion of the Federation but other religions may be practiced in peace and harmony in any part of the country.

its weak members, must be promoted by mutual help among individuals, as promulgated by Islam.¹⁰

According to the Muslims believe that if they do not have the urge 'to feed the poor [they] will be accounted as one of the signs of unbelief and of repudiation of the faith' (Sayyid Qutb, 2000: 87). A significant aspect of Malaya, according to Willer (1975: 1), is 'the deeply felt attachment and importance Malays exhibit toward their religion, Islam'.

The Chinese were for the most part Buddhists, Confucianists or Taoists. It should be borne in mind that regardless of the cultural diversity amongst the Chinese dialect groups, the Chinese in Malaysia draw their conscious and unconscious values from the same sources, as Purcell (1967) points out:

The Chinese have always been regarded as most tolerant in matters of religion,they tolerate the sects they do not belong to and often conform to two or even all three of the cults simultaneously. Many Chinese will have difficulty in telling you whether a god or a hero is a Buddhist or a Taoist deity, while the Buddhists have admitted a number of gods, originally Taoist, into their pantheon.

(Purcell, 1967: 119)

Even though the Chinese believe in their religion and superstitions, the majority of them profess to reconcile all religions and that all gods and idols are to be revered (Francis and Ee, 1971).

¹⁰ The appropriate passages from the Quran that support this are:

- i. Help one another in virtue and piety, but do not help one another in sin and hostility' (Quran, 5: 2).
- ii. Have you seen him who repudiates the faith? He it is who repulses the orphan and does not urge the feeding of the poor' (Quran, 107: 1-3).
- iii. It is not for you to refuse to fight in the cause of Allah and in defense of the weak, men and women, and children' (Quran, 4:75).

The Indians were largely Hindus and accepted the fundamental principles of Hinduism, namely the ideas of karma, transmigration, and caste. They paid homage to the official gods Siva and Kali. They honoured their priests and Brahmans. Arasaratnam (1970) notes that:

Immigrant labour had temples built for them in the estates, to establish for them a homely environment because they believed, an ancient Tamil adage said: Do not settle in a land where there is no temple. The isolation of Indians in the estates, and their concentration in small groups in their housing settlements, led to the practice of Hindu forms and ceremonies in a manner approximating as closely as possible to that in India.

(Arasaratnam, 1970: 162)

Thus, it was necessary for the estate managers to make religious facilities available according to the beliefs of their workers.

The differences in religious beliefs have implications to the question of social welfare towards children. The three different ethnic groups had little social contact among each other, and they were free to continue their religious practices. The relationship, mainly during the Japanese occupation and the Communist insurgency, between the Malays and the Chinese was poorer than the relationship between the Malays and the Indians.

The administration system

The traditional Malay society's feudal system divided the people into layers in the form of a pyramid, separating the society into two different classes, the rulers and the

people.¹¹ It was possible for the *sultan* to perform all duties including matters pertaining to welfare services and justice in the society. Thus, it can be appreciated that the sultan was responsible for welfare of the Malay children, a group identified as vulnerable within this society.

The relationship between the rulers and the people or *rakyat*¹² was a reciprocal one. The society accepted the fact that the rulers received unconditional loyalty from the people in return for provision of security, leadership and other necessities such as food, clothing and shelter by the ruler. The people, on the other hand were required to contribute their energy and loyalty to the rulers. Their contribution was considered a noble action, acceptable to the values of the society at that time. It is obvious that in traditional societies, there existed aspects of cooperation between a ruler and the people that were entwined under this give-and-take policy (Hanapi, 1982).

The *kampong* (village) was the centre of the basic political and economic unit, and a combination of several of these formed the *mukim* (an administrative unit within a district) ruled over by the traditional *penghulu* (headmen, administrative head of a *mukim* or subdistrict).

¹¹ The term “traditional” here refers to ‘a situation or a society’s trait, which has not yet been accepted or exposed to the influence of modernisation, and this society is associated with past time’ (A.Aziz, 1994: 107). It also refers to a situation of a society before the coming of Western invaders, that is, the original residents of the country – the Malays and other indigenous groups (Moorhead, 1963). The life of the traditional community is connected to the lifestyle of the original population of Malaya. The Malacca Sultanate era, the earliest sultanate government, was considered the foundation of traditional administrative institutions of other states in Malaya (Fuziah and Ruslan, 2000). There is no necessity to elaborate on the structure of the traditional society since much has been written on the subject (e.g., Gullick, 1958; Khoo, 1972; Gullick, 1987).

¹² The *rakyat* (the subject class, peasantry, people, and citizen) were divided into two groups, namely, the free people and the slaves. Slavery was a custom and a normal practice throughout the Malay Peninsula up to the end of the nineteenth century, even though slavery is against the tenets of Islam. Under the feudal system in which various Malay chieftans ruled their territories, even freemen were liable to forced labour. Inclusive in this case were also children living in (or originally from) a ‘slave family’. Child slavery (mui tsai) among Chinese society is discussed in Chapter 9.

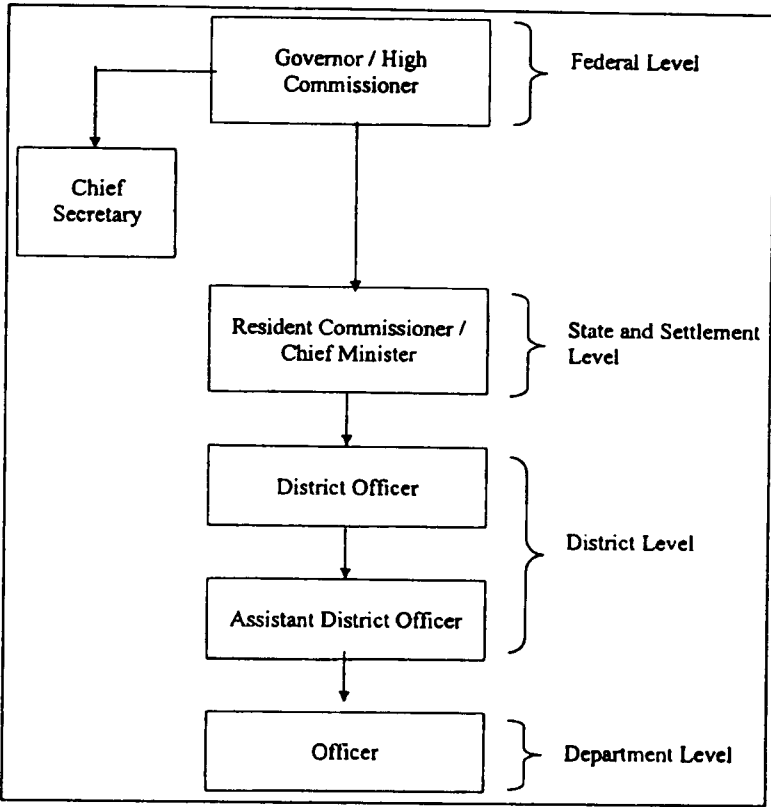


Figure 4.2: Colonial administrative structure

Under the British administration system (see Figure 4.2), Malaya was in the hands of the Governor or the High Commissioner based in Kuala Lumpur. The High Commissioner or the Governor was assisted by Chief Secretary, leader of the Legislative Council. The High Commissioner was called upon to justify the Government’s policy and ascertain which laws were most suited to the needs of the people. Consequently, the British Advisers or Resident Commissioner, who often needed advice on technical or local matters from the heads of government departments or districts, consulted the Chief Secretary (Middlebrook and Pinnick, 1949). With the help of his advisers, the High Commissioner would then report his proposals to the Secretary of State for the Colonies in London.

Each state in Malaya was divided into several districts under the responsibility of a District Officer (DO), who was assisted by one or two Assistant District Officer (ADO). The lower level officials were responsible for implementing social policies.

The interference of colonial power in Malaya's administrative system substituted the traditional role of Malay rulers with bureaucrats, *penghulu*, who received a fixed salary from the colonial administration. The duty of *penghulu*, was to assist the DO and his officers, to carry out orders, facilitate people's complaints or requests, as well as hear certain criminal and civil cases of a minor nature.

Even though the traditional Malay rulers remained the highest power, they no longer had the right to uphold their own traditional duties, and the rulers' roles were limited to certain aspects of administration which were ceremonial in nature. In contrast, the appointed British Resident would be given power to give advice to the *sultans* on a wide range of matters, except on those relating to Malay customs and Islam including children's welfare. The tasks of the Residents included establishing conditions of peace and order, straightening out state finances, constructing primary infrastructure, and developing resources of the state. The Resident would be responsible for making policies and regulations as well as administering and managing the state and district. The implementation of the residential system brought about a few standard practices such as revenue collection taxation (Fuziah and Ruslan, 2000) which was 'overhauled in order to provide the needed infrastructure for economic development' (Khoo, 1991: 161-2). The Malay entrepreneurs, who held important and beneficial roles in collecting economic resources for the country before colonisation, found that their roles vanished as the British capitalist economic system began to expand.

The DO in Malaya had a broad administrative role. The DO was known as a Magistrate and Tax Collector (collecting taxes and managing the local fund), the Chief of Police, Land and Value Officer, General Officer, Coroner, Prison Officer, Inspector of Mines in a mining district, or a Harbour Master in a coastal district (Emerson, 1974). The work of the DO covered the whole of his district and it was possible for him to supervise every matter of importance, given that he was there to look after the interests of the people and was ready and willing to see any person irrespective of ethnicity.

The economic system

At the time of the founding of Malacca in 1402, it was already known that the Malay Archipelago had been part of a trading route spanning India, the Arab lands and China for centuries (Andaya and Andaya, 2001).¹³ Because of its strategic position at the crossroads of the monsoons and the sea routes between East and West, it had enjoyed early commercial significance.

As far as handling economic resources was concerned, the traditional rulers had total power over all types of resources, as well as commercial activities and tax collecting in their own territories. Until the early part of the nineteenth century, the traditional rulers played an important entrepreneurial role in a massive merchandising activity, controlling and keeping an eye on import and export activities, investing in the mining industry, and taking control of all agriculture products (A. Malik: 1977).

¹³ There is historical evidence that Malacca and most other Malay Kingdoms imported large amounts of food, especially rice, before the sixteenth century and that the wealth of most of these kingdoms was derived from trade (Wheatly, 1961). The people had already had a systematic economic structure based on agriculture, fishery, manufacturing, barter trading, and many others must have been engaged in work relating directly to local or long distance trade.

From the middle of the nineteenth century, fundamental changes began to occur in the economic life of Malaya when capitalist economic system introduced a few basic characteristics, such as capital, labour supplies, and entrepreneurs. This marked the beginning of a large investment and involvement of external capital, besides local capital in the new industry. The Malayan economic pattern was transformed into a source of cheap raw materials for export to Western countries as well as into markets for British manufactured exports.

Tin and gold mining activities, undertaken by traditional community in a small-based industry, were also important and had been going on for a long time in Malaya before the twentieth century. At the turn of the twentieth century, tin mining in the Malay states was largely a Chinese enterprise, with about 80 per cent of Malaya's tin production under Chinese management. The introduction of large and expensive tin-dredge, first used in Malaya in 1912, further increased 'Western interests in Malayan tin, and finally gave European management a lead over Chinese in the production figures' (Kennedy, 1962: 195). In fact, this new economic system, different from the traditional economic system, benefited the people living in the urban areas and gave priority to export oriented economic activities only. The majority of the Malay community, who lived in rural areas, were unable to enjoy the public infrastructures made possible by tin revenues, resulting in inequitable development of certain communities. The existence of these two types of economic systems eventually formed a 'dual economy' (Cook, 1985).

Furthermore, the growth of capitalist economy influenced the pattern of commercial activities in new towns, such as Taiping, Ipoh and Kuala Lumpur, which

became the centres of colonial administration (Kennedy, 1962) and where main services were provided, such as new roads and railways, water supply, lighting, schools and health facilities. The pattern of roads and railways not only served both as cause and effect of economic development, but also helped to determine its character (Kennedy, 1962). When land was taken for large-scale rubber planting, the sites mainly chosen were ones which were near the existing means of transportation, especially railways (Kennedy, 1962). As a result, development was not evenly spread over the states. The East Coast states of Malaya, such as Terengganu and Kelantan, remained sparsely populated (Kennedy, 1962), because economic and social growth in the West Coast states were higher than that of the East Coast.

The “divide and rule” system (Institut Tadbiran Awam Negara, 1991) which the British administration had resorted to, that is, differentiating the society according to people’s economic activities and geographical locations, seemed to segregate the ethnic groups. The other form of “divide and rule” intended to control peace and harmony among the ethnic groups in the country, is outlined in the next section.

The social system

Prior to the Second World War, social welfare in Malaya was regarded as primarily a matter for the family or clan organisation and for philanthropic societies. Strong family institution, which formed the characteristics of all the people in this country, provided the foundation for welfare (*Malayan Daily News*, 6/6/1946). The basic social unit was the nuclear family, organised into household units. Family members were mutually and

intimately dependent on each other for fulfillment and support. The family members lived in the same village, and this closeness helped them to cooperate with one another.

Cooperation in social and economic field encouraged a peaceful life. The men helped each other in plantation activities, while the women cooperated in harvesting, cooking, taking care of and raising children. Apart from this, the children had a few responsibilities themselves, such as age appropriate chores. Thus, problems that existed in a relatively small population were handled at a personal level (Md Fadzil, 1980). Obligations and responsibilities, such as exchange of goods and resources between all close relatives, were considered important in Malay society. There was a moral obligation to provide care for those family members who could not support themselves. For instance, the sick and the aged were given the care they needed (Shamsiah, 1981).

Health

Much less is known of the traditional health systems in Malaya (Kai, 1987). Prior to British intervention, the population was served entirely by traditional medicine men. Malay medical practices were laced with folklore and customs including influences from Indian and Arab cultures (Hindu and Islamic beliefs) (A. Aziz, 1994). Serious health and social problems were traditionally considered either the responsibility of the individual family, kinship, or respective community.

Health services began in 1787 in Penang during the early period of British occupation; those in other Straits Settlements soon followed. Due to growing population of diverse migrant labour, the colonial authorities found themselves having to improvise a system of services (Kai, 1987). The provision of services for mothers and children

was reported to begin in 1905, in conjunction with the influx of Chinese women and children to the Straits Settlements. The programme concentrated on aspects of registration and training for traditional midwives, introduction of modern health services for women to become midwives, house-visiting, and building of child welfare centres (Manderson, 1996; Mahani, 2003).

It seems that health care services under the colonialist system developed primarily to serve the needs and interest of the colonialists. Hence, the structure of health services was biased toward the curative, and centred mainly on urban areas (Chee, 1982), which were predominantly occupied by the European settlers and immigrant workers. 'They founded hospitals as well as institutions for the care of lepers and lunatics; set up Sanitary Town Boards; improved water supplies; promoted education in hygiene' (Moorhead, 1963: 196).

Education

Education within traditional Malay society consisted of three traditional systems, namely, *Quranic* school¹⁴, *pondok* school¹⁵, and *madrasah*.¹⁶

The *pondok* institution in Malaya was believed to have started as early when Islam was first introduced to Malaya (Fuziah, 2001).¹⁷ Besides teaching, the *tok guru* (well-trained Islamic educated teacher of a *pondok*) gave lectures on the teachings of Islam and performed all kinds of Islamic rituals. It was norm for *tok guru* to refuse to

¹⁴ Quran classes/school usually held in a teachers' house or a *surau* (*surau* - a building used for prayer when no mosque is available and generally smaller than the mosque).

¹⁵ A "hut" school; traditional Islamic education.

¹⁶ Madrasah is a modernist Islamic school.

¹⁷ See section on plural society later in this chapter.

accept any kind of payment except *zakat*¹⁸ or charity from the people. The head teacher served voluntarily and worked full time at the *pondok*. He also served the surrounding community on a voluntary basis. It is not surprising that the *tok guru* was highly respected, not only by his students, but the local community as well. Muslims believe that every deed of good nature is bound to be rewarded in multiples by the Almighty God.

The *madrasah*, in contrast, was ‘characterized by a set curriculum and organizational structure similar to secular schools and combined “religious” and “modern” subjects in a desire to preserve the “Islamic-ness” of the Malays’ (Andaya and Andaya, 2001: 240). The roles played and contributions given by Muslim missionaries in *pondok* schools and *madrasah* were enormous.¹⁹

During the British period, there were two types of schools: vernacular schools and English schools. As will be shown in the next section, private as well as voluntary agencies played a significant role in this particular area.

The role of individuals and voluntary agencies in health and education

Kennedy (1962) asserts that one of the earliest hospitals in the Malay states was provided by Yap Ah Loy, the head of the Chinese community, for sick Chinese miners in Kuala Lumpur. It was maintained by a tax of a dollar on every pig slaughtered in the neighbouring mining areas. In the estate plantations, it was compulsory for management to provide hospital accommodation for workers on the basis of four beds for every

¹⁸ *Zakat* is a spiritual-material obligation on every Muslim in possession of a minimum amount of wealth of assets, for a period of one lunar year (Abdul Rehman, undated) for the benefit of the poor and needy. It is one of the pillars of Islam, one of the essentials of the faith.

¹⁹ There are various studies on historical development of early traditional Islamic education (e.g., Ismail, 1990; Fuziah, 1992; 2001).

hundred workers, to employ a dresser, and keep a supply of drugs. 'These estate hospitals were subject to visits from government medical officers' (Kennedy, 1962: 230).

Among the first hospitals to be built were those which served the needs of the British colonialists and their troops. The early British residents gradually provided state hospitals out of revenues, and recruited European medical staff to the state establishment. A wider pattern of hospital services emerged by the year 1908, when 52 hospitals in the FMS were built.

While missionaries established Malay Schools in the Straits Settlements, the British government in the Straits Settlements gave financial aid to establish British schools in Malaya. In the first half of the nineteenth century, schools were founded in the Straits Settlement and the first was the Penang Free School established in 1821 by the Anglican Chaplain of Penang (Chelliah, 1947). This school was free, in the sense that it was opened to all ethnic groups and fees were not charged to those parents who could not afford them. Public subscriptions and donations from the East India Company helped to maintain the school (Kennedy, 1962).

However, the secular education organised by Christian missionaries with assistance from the British government did not receive sufficient support from the Malay society, which believed that it was against the existing traditional education system and not based on Islamic principles. The Malays were reluctant to be associated with any religion except Islam. A. M. Skinner, the Inspector of Schools in Malaya, tried to confront this matter by combining the Malay secular education system, which was taught in the mornings, with the *Quranic* school system in the evenings, in Malay

schools. His actions were supported and accepted by the Malay community. These mission-type schools began mainly with voluntary funds and some government support in the form of grants (Kennedy, 1962). Thus, while the missionaries were the pioneers in introducing secular education, the British colonial government eventually took over administration of the schools.

Whilst the government established and maintained Malay vernacular schools, immigrant Chinese and Indians attended English schools or private vernacular schools. These private vernacular schools established and maintained by their own communities. Early Chinese vernacular schools were established and sponsored by successful Chinese businessmen and leaders of local Chinese communities without government help 'to safeguard their own language and custom' (Moorhead, 1963: 198). Most of the businessmen contributed to the schools by giving financial aid. For instance, in Kuala Lumpur, although the government built the first Chinese school, Yap Ah Loy provided a schoolmaster at his own expense, and other leading *towkays* (a wealthy Chinese businessman, trader, shopkeeper) supported the school (Kennedy, 1962). Chinese associations first supported expenses for the schools, but the government eventually helped.

For the Indians, vernacular schools had their beginnings largely on rubber estates where, The Labour Code of 1912 stipulates that estate owners were obliged to provide schools on their estates for the workers' children between the ages of seven and fourteen, when there were ten or more children on the estate. The schools were aided by a government grant (Kennedy, 1962; Moorhead, 1963).

Health and education were given primary attention because of conspicuous development in public services for the general population, including European settlers. Whilst English schools were to be found in urban centres, located where day-to-day trade and businesses were carried out, vernacular schools, particularly the Malay and Tamil, were located mainly in rural areas, in the *kampongs* and the estates.

By and large, since the services were located principally in urban areas, in which Chinese and Indians were concentrated, the percentage of Malays enjoying such services was rather low. Those at a distance from urban-based healthcare facilities, whose illnesses were least likely to affect colonial economic life or health of others, had little access to medical and hospital services. While patients in the hospital were almost exclusively Chinese (Kai, 1987), ‘the traditional healers were ignored and had little to do with western medicine’ (Manderson, 1996: 231-232). However, for the Malays and other indigenous people, traditional medicine still played a part in their lives. As Kai (1987) claims, a Malay ‘will prefer to remain in his own house and be treated by a Malay doctor on simple herbs, together with a judicious supply of still simpler incantations’ (Kai, 1987: 52) rather than be kept in hospital.

Nevertheless, it is obvious that some important transformations took place in Malaya during the early twentieth century in response to the impact of the British presence in Malaya.

The next section traces the impact of the Japanese occupation in relation to the social well-being of the Malayan people.

The Japanese Occupation

The Japanese occupation had a great impact on the Malayan people and on the socio-economic status of the country. It was a period of devastation, disruption of social services, communications and administration; and the uprooting of large numbers of the population (Maday *et al.*, 1965). Health services had deteriorated due to lack of staff and drugs since they were confiscated by the Japanese army (Gullick, 1969). Many school buildings were either closed or put to other uses and, in many cases, the buildings were used for military purposes. Neither trained staff nor school facilities were available (P/KEB1 *DSWAR*, 1946).

Malnutrition, insufficient food, and other diseases, and lack of Western medicines were some of the social disruptions that lead to a high mortality rate as highlighted by Gullick (1969), Nonini (1992) and Kratoska (1998). For instance, malnutrition problems from 'steady diet of tapioca' led to starvation and fatal contagious illnesses (Kratoska, 1998: 277). The situation was 'worsened by the acute shortage of food due to the lack of transport for bringing in rice from Burma and Thailand' (Gullick, 1969: 96),²⁰ and the breakdown of food supplies from other countries because they were being stopped by allied forces. In addition, the Japanese confiscated all local agricultural products and food supplies for their army's use (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1946). There was a high rise in prices of some essential products and the Japanese currency was no longer valid.

²⁰ The entire Malayan production of rice was consumed locally. Before the war, large quantities were imported, which was around two-thirds of the rice consumed in the country, particularly from Burma and Thailand (P/SUMU2 *MUAR*, 1946).

The Japanese forced labourers from all ethnic groups in Malaya to work in airports, forts, and in building railway tracks known as the “Death Railway”, from Thailand right to the border of Burma and India by which the Japanese hoped to connect Thailand and Burma (Ryan, 1976). The Japanese hoped that it would enable them to transport soldiers, weapons and food supplies in their attempt to invade India. Thousands of prisoners of war, including British, Australians, and civilians were forced to do construction work, and thousands died during the completion of the railway track. The Indian labourers suffered the most, and it was estimated that out of more than 80,000 who were taken to work on the construction of the railway, only 35,000 returned to Malaya (P/KEB1 *DSWAR*, 1946).

The Japanese occupation created multitudinous social problems that were beyond the capacity of small voluntary mutual aid groups to handle and relieve. Traditional welfare services reached a point where they were no longer capable of meeting the needs of the people (P/KEB1 *DSWAR*, 1946). Kratoska (1998) points to the demolishing of a few institutions that had provided services to those who were impoverished and which had been operating since 1914, such as the Old Women’s Home and the Catholic Convent Orphanage in Selangor.

The rate of poverty among the people was getting worse by 1945, and even charitable organisations could have done little to help. Kratoska (1998) further provides examples of a leader of a propaganda group in Perak who suggested that poor people who were able to work should be given help, and those who were not able to work should be sent to destitutes’ home or hospitals. The President of the Malai Kosei Kyokai, a welfare association for Larut and Matang in Perak, begged the government to

provide a helping hand by giving at least a packet of rice each month to feed them (Kratoska, 1998). In addition, one of the most distressing legacies of the Japanese occupation was the large number of orphaned and homeless children (P/KEB1 *DSWAR*, 1946). It was stated that the general shortage and consequent high cost of consumer goods prevented the majority of homes from managing without substantial grants from the government (P/KEB1 *DSWAR*, 1946). Thus, the British government had to take the responsibility for handling social problems caused by the failure of voluntary welfare associations soon after the war ended.

Having discussed the impact of colonisation, the discussion now turns to two issues that the colonial government had to take into consideration during the post-war period, thereby affecting the changes of British policy in social welfare.

Discussion

The economic importance of Malaya

As stated earlier, Malaya's most important raw material, as it had been for centuries, was tin. The development in tin mining began to attract the British, since no other mineral in Malaya was deemed more important than tin.²¹ It seems that Malaya was not as important economically to the British in the nineteenth century as it was in the twentieth century 'with the advent of rubber and the motorcar and the need for dollars' (Tarling, 1998: 50-51). Before the war, Malaya had produced one-third of the world's tin, and Malaya was the world's most important rubber producer.

²¹ There were quite significant supplies of iron, bauxite, gold and coal. In 1924, however, these seemed to be less important than rubber and tin.

As the world's greatest single exporter of rubber and tin, the bulk of both products had been sold in the US for dollars. The British immediately recognised its value as a source of revenue to finance their development schemes. 'The rubber plantations and tin mines had become one of the two major pillars of the modern economy' (Moorhead, 1963: 193). As an important source of revenue, Britain had no intentions of surrendering Malaya. In the British Parliament in 1949 and again in 1950, the Prime Minister, Clement Atlee, insisted that there would be no 'premature withdrawal' from Malaya (Stockwell, 1984: 69). It is obvious that British policy makers showed little hint of any desire to pull out, and it seemed that the future Malayan economic planning was taken seriously.

From the above discussion, it may be concluded that Malaya served as a major economic source for building the economy of the "mother country". Fears about the prospects for Britain's economic recovery after the war had moved the British government towards the richness of rubber and tin in Malaya (Springhall, 2001).

The Emergency and ethnic disturbances

There were issues of the Emergency and ethnic disturbances in Malaya which the British government had to face before independence came about in 1957. Because of these issues, the government's endeavour towards building a nation state was never a success. The presence of the three major ethnic groups, that is, the Malays, Chinese and Indians, hindered the reconstruction of post-war Malaya (Moorhead, 1963). The Malays upper-class held official government posts while the masses consist of Malay peasantry. On the other hand there were wealthy Chinese *towkays* who have little in common with

their poorer counterparts, who mostly were influenced by the communist. As discussed earlier, the relationship between the Malays and the Indians was better compared to the relationship between the Malays and the Chinese.

Within the issue of ethnic disturbances, the British government had to face the guerrilla warfare, which delayed British withdrawal. During the 1948-1960 period, 'gang robberies and ethnic violence' were widespread, and 'over 600 people were murdered in the conflict in many states in Malaya' (Springhall, 2001: 51). 'By the early 1950s, communist guerrillas were outnumbered fifty to one by British servicemen, Malay police and colonial troops. The cost of the Emergency was running at one million pound sterling a week' (Springhall, 2001: 58). Because the Chinese community provided the communists a base of support, the British government hoped that resettling them in new villages would eradicate the communist influence.

The total cost of resettlement and regrouping during 1950 and 1951 had been around M\$41 million. A further M\$30 million was made available in 1952 of which around M\$19 million were spent during the year. This increased spending was partly for resettlement and regrouping purposes, defensive measures such as fencing, and economic, and social development of the New Village (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1952). The resettlement work seemed to have been successful in preventing the Chinese from providing active support for the guerrillas and in offering better provisions in social services to the Chinese community living in the New Villages as well. However, it widened the gap between the Malays and the Chinese because the resettlement plan provided 'maximum security, accessibility and proximity to employment' (King, 1954: 35) as well as to public facilities such as roads, water and electricity, which clearly

concentrated on one ethnic group. The ethnic conflict between the Malays and the Chinese apparently affected the idea of self-government and therefore, this idea needed thorough thinking until political cooperation between the main ethnic communities existed.²²

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the essential characteristics of Malaya as a country during pre-colonial and colonial period and the impact that these periods had on the country and the society. A new bureaucracy, with centralised administrative machinery, and a new socio-economic system, was established to replace the traditional ones, which were no longer acceptable by the standard of modern development.

The post-war period witnessed some changes in Malaya as the British grappled with issues between the desire to pull out and the future of Malayan economic. Even though large numbers of Chinese and Indian migrants contributed to economic expansion in Malaya during the British period, colonial policies did not encourage communal interaction (Andaya and Andaya, 2001). As shown in this chapter, deep-rooted segregation appeared because of British socio-economic and political policies. Obviously, other issues the government needs to settle were the Communist insurgency, and building of a nation state.

²² It must be noted that all recent accounts of Malaysia's post-independence history treat the "13 May incident" of 1969, as an important watershed that marks the beginning of a new era in the country's political, economic, and social development (Andaya and Andaya, 2001). The May 13 Incident, was seen as the climax of the issue of unity among the different ethnic groups within Malaysia. The incident began when, in the 1969 general election, the ruling Alliance party failed to secure a two-thirds parliamentary majority, which symbolised the loss of Malay dominance in politics. 'Victory celebrations' by the Chinese opposition parties and counter-demonstrations by government supporters soon descended into rioting and civil disorder. Hundreds of Chinese were killed (Hari, 2001).

British colonisation provided the country with various social services, such as health and education to support and uphold “colonial duty”. Social welfare development in the post-war period was characterised by residual approach to social welfare, that is, which targeted the needy group in the society. The government also made attempts for a more comprehensive welfare provision to the Malayan population, which is the concern of the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

SOCIAL WELFARE SERVICES

Introduction

Knowledge of social welfare during the colonial period serves the purpose of comprehending the complexities of welfare services already in existence among the Malays, Chinese, and Indians. This chapter will provide the knowledge about social welfare services during the British rule in Malaya. It will discuss early state provision of social welfare services, with particular reference to the establishment of the Chinese Protectorate and the Labour Department. In particular, the chapter will highlight the general background of the Department of Social Welfare (DSW), the principal government agency in welfare provision for the whole Malayan population, during post-war period. Its establishment, functions and organizational changes, will be discussed in Chapters 7, 8 and 9. These three chapters will focus on children's services. Since the current study particularly focus on the welfare of children, the chapter will examine the provision of children services within the DSW. The chapter will also clarify ambiguous colonial government definition of social welfare, and the policies regarding shared responsibilities between various government agencies that dealt with social welfare matters.

The Beginning of the State's Welfare Provision

As was discussed in Chapter 4, the presence of Chinese and Indian labourers particularly affected and changed the social system of Malaya, including its social

services and administrative patterns. The original idea of social welfare services focused heavily on living conditions and well-being of these immigrant workers mainly living on plantations and mines. Even though the situation indicated the existence of social welfare services, the objective of these public services was to support the capitalists, miners, planters, and traders (Chee, 1982). The creation of the Chinese Protection and the Labour Department did not target the whole Malayan population. The major concern of these two departments was to protect the interests of labour and immigrants. The Labour Department was principally concerned with the well-being of Indian labour, whereas the Chinese Protectorate with that of Chinese immigrants.

The Chinese Protectorate

When the population of the Chinese community increased, it became less law-abiding and more difficult to control, which in turn encouraged the growth and power of secret societies (Kelly, 1993).¹ As the main social organisation of Chinese people in early colonial Malaya, the secret societies undertook the provision and organisation of social activities for their members, particularly males (Lai, 1986). One of the activities was trafficking. Gangsters were employed by brothel keepers to intimidate and terrorise girls, as well as to protect them (Lim, 1980). To deal with the circumstances that arose,

¹ The activities of the Chinese secret societies, which had originated in seventeenth century China to oppose the oppressive Manchu dynasty, were among the most serious problems that faced the Straits Settlements in the nineteenth century. The Europeans came to call the societies the Triad, as they were based on a belief combining the powers of heaven, earth and man. The Triad soon spread its influence beyond political opposition to the Chinese Emperor. Triad leaders began setting themselves up as dispensers of justice, often ignoring local courts and each society also took it upon itself to look after its members' well-being. Becoming a member of the secret societies would help solve "unfamiliar" problems in a totally different country. Members of the societies took an oath to assist other brothers in need and this might be to help brothers get a good burial, or it might involve illegal activities like bribing or murdering witnesses. Among the rules of the societies were: keeping their activities secret, and breaking the oath of secrecy was punishable by death (Kelly, 1993).

the Chinese Protectorate was set up in 1877 (Leong, 1999). Its establishment was to suppress secret societies and traffic in women and girls, to protect women and girls (Purcell, 1967), to improve living and working conditions of Chinese labour, and to keep a check on Chinese immigration (Kelly, 1993).

In the early years of colonial rule, the government did not intervene in trafficking. However, from the 1870s onwards, the state was pressured to intervene and check the activities of secret societies, which were considered threatening to the general conditions of trade and investment in the Malay states (Lai, 1986). The aim was not to abolish the system, but to regularise and control the inflow of females and to check the worst abuses of traffic. Even though the government endeavoured to control the activities of secret societies, this was not entirely successful because of the power of the secret societies (Lai, 1986). Overwhelmingly, the activities of 'opium smoking, gambling, drinking and prostitution' (Lai, 1986: 33) were considered the most negative habits of the Chinese. For the government, however, these activities served as a major source of income (Lai, 1986).

Furthermore, the government felt it was unrealistic to ban activities such as prostitution, given the highly unbalanced sex ratio. The preponderance of men over women (Purcell, 1967) produced an imbalance in the sex ratio² among the Chinese and Indian labourers and,³ '...it gave rise to a demand for women and encouraged

² In 1901, there were just under 100 females to every 1000 males, increasing to 247 females in 1911 and 436 in 1931 (Purcell, 1967:174). The immigrants were mostly young males because women were not allowed to follow their mates due to high cost of travelling and the Chinese authorities discouraged female outflow from China (Lim, 1980).

³ Consequently, as was the case for Chinese, from 1920, the Government of India began to remedy the sex imbalance among the Indian. It was reported by Arasaratnam (1970) that for every 1000 males, the number of females was 171 in 1901 and 692 females in 1957.

traffickers ...' (Lim, 1980: 102) to immigrate to Malaya.⁴ 'This increase of female immigrants created a number of social problems' (Lim, 1980: 102; EWO 1, 2003) which led to the need for protection of Chinese females by the Chinese Protectorate.

The establishment of the department was specifically sought to demolish prostitution as a business and to protect women and teenagers from being abused (Parmer, 1960; Jackson, 1961; Purcell, 1967; Hodge, 1980). However, due to a lack of sufficient staff (Jomo and Todd, 1994), the department was abolished in 1945 (Leong, 1999).

The Labour Department

Malaya was among the first colonies to create a Labour Department (Mair, 1944). The department was formally established in 1911, and 'was mainly concerned with the inspection of Indian labourers' (Leong, 1999). Mair (1944) claims that the department was first set up in 1912. However, she identifies it as a 'special department' (Mair, 1944: 48). As a result, recent authors in Malaysia have come to an understanding that the development of social welfare in Malaya began in 1912, with the introduction of social welfare programme for the well-being of migrant communities, as well as indigenous local people including the Malays (e.g., Ismail, 1992; Faizah and Siti Hajar, 2000; Doling and Omar, 2002).

The establishment of the Department of Labour may be attributed to the concern voiced by the Indian Colonial Government and the way the department treated Indian migrant labourers (Jomo and Todd, 1994). Many immigrants found that conditions in

⁴ From 1900 to 1927, brothels were legalised throughout Malaya, since there was no restriction on prostitutes coming into the country (Purcell, 1967).

Malaya were often deplorable. The pay was low and housing conditions and medical facilities 'often became acute' (Wiebe and Mariapen, 1979: 15). These circumstances forced the labourers to condemn the British and Indian governments (Wiebe and Mariapen, 1979) and appeal for interference from the Indian government.

The introduction of the Indian Emigration Act by the Indian government (Jomo and Todd, 1994) in 1922 made the process of sending Indian labourers to Malaya much simpler. The Labour Code of 1923⁵ dealt with all regulations regarding migration and workplace environment, enabling the Agent of the Government of India to monitor the working conditions and other matters relating to the welfare of Indian labourers in Malaya, including fixing the minimum age for Indian child labour at ten years. Employers were also required to provide nurseries and schools for the children of labourers, labour allowances and standard wage rates (Mair, 1944; Arasaratnam, 1970). This, consequently, led to improved housing, medical aid, food and sanitation, workers' cleanliness, and maternity benefits.

Unfortunately, the depression of the 1930s led to the abolishment of the department.⁶ At that time, the post of a social welfare officer was considered similar to that of the Labour Officer responsible for labour conditions. The officers were changeable from one administration department to another, or among fellow officers those who had experiences in social services (Mair, 1944).

⁵ The Code of 1923, which replaced that of 1912, was equally comprehensive in its scope, and had parts that were of general application to all labour, and parts which provided for Indian and Chinese labour separately in both the Straits Settlements and the FMS (Arasaratnam, 1970).

⁶ Again, Mair (1944) did not specifically state the year the Department was abolished and re-opened. According to the report on *The Colonial Empire (1939-1947)* (Cmd. 7167), in 1933, only two colonial territories – Malaya and Ceylon, had separate Labour Departments.

In 1937 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, leader of the National Indian Congress Party, visited Malaya and saw unjust conditions of Indian labourers as compared with their Chinese counterparts. He suggested that a trade union for Indian labourers be established to maintain their welfare. Consequently, in 1938, under pressure from the Central Indian Association of Malaya, the House of Representatives of India succeeded in stopping the migration of Indian labourers to Malaya. However, this was not sufficient to remedy the problems faced by the Indian labourers, as their situation remained unchanged.

When the British took over the administration of Malaya from the Japanese, many Indian leaders were sentenced to prison following allegations of helping the Japanese in opposing the British. The National Indian Congress Party received news stating the cruelty and prejudice shown by the British Military Administration (BMA) (Zubaidah, 1995). Nehru went to Malaya again on 17th March 1946 and gave the assurance that, as soon as India achieved independence, the Indian government would focus their attention on the welfare of Indians outside India. On 26th March 1946, Nehru formed the Indian Relief Committee to handle matters relating to Indians in Malaya. Nehru also introduced an aid programme exclusively for the poor, by sending the Indian Government Medical Mission which eventually treated non-Indians as well.

It was not until the post-war period when the Labour Department absorbed the labour functions of the Protectorate (P/BPP 1) that an attempt was made to restructure labour administration of labour issues. Nevertheless, 'Chinese and Indian labour existed as two separate bodies, each conditioned by its social, cultural and political influences' (Leong, 1999: 16) for most of the colonial period.

The discussion so far has focused on the welfare provision which was provided mainly for the Chinese and Indian labourers. Given the above scenario, it seems that considerable attention was given by the British government to ensure the well-being of Indian and Chinese workers in Malaya.

The aftermath of the Second World War created a multitude of social problems. Thousands of families were left destitute and traditional welfare services were no longer capable of meeting the needs of the people. The necessary organization and resources to handle the aftermath of the war 'with any effect clearly lay in the hands of the government' (Sushama, 1992: 56). It was the responsibility of the colonial government to organise measures for the relief and recovery of the Malayan people. Nevertheless, after the war, the government indicated a move to provide welfare services to the whole population of Malaya, irrespective of ethnic groups, including children. The creation of the DSW supported such a move.

The Establishment of the Department of Social Welfare (DSW)

The DSW, first established in the Department of Labour in April 1946, was officially opened on 10 June 1946, with its Head Office situated at Jalan Batu, Kuala Lumpur (DSW, undated). J.A. Harvey, a cadet who had been in the Malayan Civil Service (MCS) since 1925 (see Appendix 4), was appointed 'to act as the Chief Social Welfare Officer' (CSWO) (P/KEB1 *DSWAR*, 1946). Capt. Mohamed Salleh, M.B.E., MCS was chosen to act as Deputy CSWO (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1946), the first Malay to be employed to the post on 12 November 1946 (Wan Azmi, 1992).

In contrast to Harvey who had been serving in Malaya for twenty-two years, Dr. C.P. Rawson, assigned as Chief Social Welfare Officer (CSWO) on 18 June 1947, had no previous experience of working in Malaya at all (see Appendix 4). The position of CSWO was comparable to that of District Officer (DO). This seemed appropriate for Harvey, who had previously worked as DO in various Malayan districts during the pre-war period.

The second CSWO (1952-1957) was J.C. McDoull. He was an Assistant Secretary Chinese Protectorate in 1936, Assistant Labour Officer in 1945 and, with the set up of the DSW, became a Social Welfare Officer (SWO) in 1947 before being appointed as CSWO in 1952. He held the post until Malaya achieved its independent (see Appendix 4).

During the early stage of the DSW establishment, one ad-hoc body was set up to function as a central administrative body for the control and organisations of food rations and to function as civil administration officers. The Relief and Welfare Offices were set up during this period at Penang, Ipoh, Kuala Lumpur and Johore Bahru. When the Civil Administration took over BMA's work, the ad-hoc body was then abolished. Nevertheless, for the first three months, the Relief and Welfare Offices continued to exist and operated along the same lines as the ad-hoc body.

The Relief and Welfare Organization established during the BMA period became part of the DSW. Additionally, welfare organisations in the East Coast states of Kelantan and Terengganu were established. By the end of December 1947, each state and settlement had an office of the department, with sub-offices in the larger states (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1947*). The British Red Cross Relief Officers continued to serve in

four states, namely, Kota Bahru (Kelantan), Alor Setar (Kedah), Kuantan (Pahang) and Seremban (Negeri Sembilan). Later, they joined the department as State Rural Welfare Officers and officers of the St. John Civil Relief Organization (P/SUMU2 *MUAR* 1946; P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1947). Forty to fifty members of these organizations worked in conjunction with the DSW between April to August 1948.

For administrative and economic purposes, the department was divided into four territories or areas, each with an Area Welfare Officer in charge (SS 149/46), as shown in Figure 5.1. Within each area, a State Relief Officer and State Rural Welfare Officer were appointed for relief and welfare work in urban and rural areas respectively.

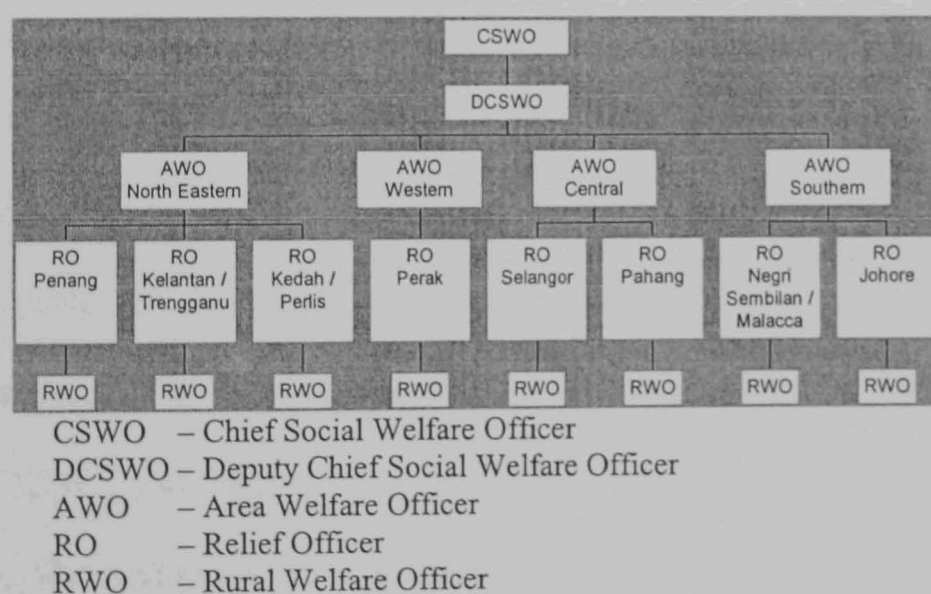


Figure 5.1: The organisation chart of the DSW 1946/47

Source: P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1946

With the resumption of the civil administration, social welfare was organised throughout the Malay Peninsula on a zoned basis with area and state welfare officers. The functions of these officers were 'to supervise the administration of relief funds and supplies, to assist in the promotion in relief institutions, to enquire into cases and the

causes of distress, to train local welfare workers, and to encourage voluntary efforts and organisations in the social field' (P/SUMU2 MUAR 1946).

The detailed duties of Area Welfare Officers and State Relief Officers shown in Table 5.1 clearly illustrates that services were provided for children. Whilst the duties of the State Relief Officer concerned the development of urban areas, the duties of the State Rural Welfare Officer, although almost similar, specifically involved rural development. The State Rural Welfare Officer had a further duty, where possible and with the approval of the local Medical Department, to provide medical aid in *kampongs*. The State Rural Welfare Officer was to visit every possible *kampung* in the state to survey the amount of distress in the state and to see that relief was carried to the places where it was most needed (P/KEB1 DSWAR 1947). For instance, Enid M.L. Fernandes, a very experienced and dedicated social welfare officer posted to Johor, was reported to have made frequent visits to *kampongs*, staying overnight at houses of *penghulus* (Wan Azmi, 1992) in order to get closer to the villagers.

Eight years after the establishment of the DSW, five new Social Welfare Sub-Offices, in 1954, were opened, one in Perak, two in Negeri Sembilan and two in Terengganu. This indicated the expansion of the DSW organisations and, henceforth, changes in its function.

Area Welfare Officer		State Relief Officer	
i.	Keep in touch with the Resident Commissioner of the state, informing him of all social welfare developments and consulting him on all important welfare matters	i.	Investigate applications for relief in urban areas
ii.	Control the activities of the Social Welfare Department in his area	ii.	Distribute relief clothing and supplies in urban areas
iii.	Pay salaries and allowances of all staff	iii.	Distribute cash relief in urban areas
iv.	Provide funds for: a. Maintenance of homes and orphanages b. Temporary assistance to established denominational institutions c. Cash relief d. Establishment of new homes	iv.	Allocate of funds between urban and rural areas
v.	Refer to the CSWO any new social welfare activities recommended for consideration	v.	Assist Area Welfare Officer with the organisation and running of government homes
vi.	Keep in touch with local voluntary organisations and committees and encourage voluntary effort	vi.	Enquire cases of poverty and distress and into the cases of orphan and neglected children and the elderly and infirmed who are in need of special help
		vii.	Train local probationer welfare workers as future members of the staff of the Department
		viii.	Assist the Probation Officer and the Courts over the care of juvenile delinquents
		ix.	Facilitate the admission to homes of persons in need of such assistance
		x.	Keep in touch with the DO and with local voluntary committees and workers.

Table 5.1: Area Welfare Officer and State Relief Officer duties
Source: P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1946, DSWAR 1947*

The function and organisational changes

Officers at Headquarters consisted of the CSWO, Deputy CSWO, Chief Women Assistant, Principal Probation Officer, Welfare Officer for the Blind (WOB), Officer-in-Charge of Training, Administrative Officer and Officer-in-Charge of Emergency Section (P/PM3 *FMAR 1952*). The DSW was under the control of the CSWO, who was responsible to the government for the direction, implementation and administration of approved social welfare policy (P/KEB *DSWAR 1948*). One of the first tasks of the CSWO was 'to attempt to arrive at a uniform policy for the whole of Malaya and to plan an organization with which to implement that policy' (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1946*). The main functions of the CSWO, were 'as an executive head of the Federal Social Welfare Services, as adviser to the State Social Welfare Services, and act in a liaison capacity as a member of the councils of voluntary organisations' (Jones, 1958; 1).

The department was reorganised in 1948 due to the replacement of the Malayan Union (MU) by the Federation of Malaya. Under the 1948 Federation Agreement, social welfare in Malaya was wholly the federal government's responsibility. The decentralisation of the department commenced on 1 January 1948 when a Social Welfare Officer was posted to each state and settlement. The policy of decentralisation continued throughout 1948 until 1st January 1951.

However, in 1951, by administrative action, responsibilities for certain social welfare activities were transferred to or left to be developed by state and settlement governments. The provision of non-institutional (home or "outdoor") relief ceased to be a federal responsibility in practice. Ex-Welfare Officer (EWO) 2 relates his experience on this as follows:

....it was easy at that time. Only the state government was involved in state's affairs, the federal wasn't involved at all. We made the decisions. Welfare was under the state government. Only the officers were from federal.

(EWO 2, 2003)

Under the portfolio of the Member for Industrial and Social Relations in 1954, the department's responsibilities were shared between the Federal Government and the State Governments. The Federal Government was responsible for the probation and approved schools, children, disabled people, youth, women and girls, the Emergency, and social welfare workers' training. On the other hand, the state and settlements welfare officers were directly responsible to their State Governments for matters concerning general welfare. Services that required a high degree of co-ordination were dealt with federally, while those that required close personal attention and individual casework were dealt with locally (Jones, 1958). Each of these sections had its own executive head who worked under the general direction of the CSWO.

With the relocation of the DSW in 1957 (see Table 5.2), the DSW was administered on both the state and federal basis. The CSWO was responsible to the Minister of Labour and Social Welfare (MLSW) for seeing that government policy was put into effect. State welfare officers, however, were directly responsible to their state governments. Several sections were under the chief's responsibility, namely the Youth Services Section, the Probation Section, the Blind Welfare Section, the Children's Section, the Women and Girls Section, Homes and Institutions and so forth (MLSWAR, 1957). As is clear in Table 5.2, since its inception, the DSW has merged with other departments to form several ministries.

Year Established	Department's Location	Minister / CSWO
April 1946	Established under the Department of Labour and Social Welfare	CSWO (acting): J.A. Harvey (1946-1947)
June 1946	DSW officially formed	CSWO: C.P. Rawson (1947-1952)
1951	Portfolio of the Member for Industrial and Social Relations	CSWO: J.C. McDoull (1952-1957)
1955	Ministry of Health and Social Welfare	
October 1957	Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare	Minister: Tan Sri Omar Ong Yoke Lin (1957-1962)

Table 5.2: The DSW relocation
Sources: P/PM3, *FMAR 1955*, *FMAR 1956*; *MLSWAR, 1957*

The DSW was in the portfolio of the Member for Industrial and Social Relations, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, and remained in the (Ministry of Labour and Social Welfare (MLSW) until 1960 when it again joined the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare. This fluid situation continued until 1964 when it was formed into a ministry of its own for the first time, known as the Ministry of Welfare Services. However, at the end of October 1990, a new ministry, the Ministry of National Unity and Community Development, was created. Since the inception of the National Unity and Community Development, the Ministry of Welfare Services seems to have been “down graded” to exist only as a department within the ministries. The department was then relocated under the Ministry of Women, Family and Community in 2004 with its functions remain the same.

Children's Services

From the beginning of its establishment, the DSW had no specific division focused solely on children. This is because that the objective of the department was primarily to assist the displaced and distressed victims of the war (Abdullah, 1979), with attention generally given to various social welfare services (see Chapter 8). Attention, to a limited extent, was given to problems of children and young persons in moral danger. Each child, whose case was brought to the notice of the Department, was removed from the source of danger and placed under care and protection. However, work in this field was limited because the Department had no trained Children's Officers (FS 12948/1950). Whilst there were various measures taken by the DSW to ensure the well-being of children, until the year 1950 the Department still had no Children's Officers specifically in charge to exercise the full and far-reaching powers of the Children and Young Persons Ordinance (CYPO) (P/PM3 *FMAR 1950*; DSWAR 1950 in FS 12948/1950).

Under the portfolio of the Member of Industrial and Social Relations, the DSW was organised around specialisation that also involved setting up a children's section. In 1953 a Children's Officer was posted to Johore, and took on some of the work related to the departmental children's homes in Selangor and Johore. The workload of the Children's Section of the DSW, established in these two states continued to increase and, by the end of the year, some 1500 cases concerning children had been dealt with. One of the biggest tasks continued to be registration and supervision of transferred children under the 1947 CYPO.

Table 5.3 gives examples of cases dealt with by full-time Children's Officers and Child Welfare Assistants in Selangor and Johore between 1955 and 1958 (P/PM3

FMAR 1955). Within this period, cases such as applications for admission to homes, being boarded-out in foster homes, care and protection, and other new cases dramatically increased, indicating that the Children’s Section was beginning to play a significant role in providing services.

Type of Cases	Total Numbers (1955)	Total Numbers (1958)
Applications for admissions to homes	160	291
Legal adoptions	66	338
Transferred children under supervision	220	228
Boarded-out in foster homes	14	616
Ill treatment cases	29	77
Disabled children (not in Homes)	13	82
Care and Protection (under court orders only)	-	80
Dispute over custody of children	-	113
Voluntary supervision	106	378
Other new cases ⁷	146	960
Total (cases registered)	754	7094

Table 5.3: Summary of cases dealt with by Children’s Sections in 1955 and 1958
Source: Adapted from the *P/PM3 FMAR 1955*; *P/KEB1 DSWAR 1958*

Towards the end of the year, the first qualified Children’s Officer in Malaya was appointed to specifically train local staff. In addition, the DSW Annual Conference in 1955 recommended that Children’s Services:

⁷ However, there seems to be no way of discovering what these new cases were.

...should be given very high priorityThere should also be a trained Children's Officer in each State and Settlements;the need for more social welfare officer could be met by the recruitment of more women social welfare officer who should be given additional in-training in child welfare work.

(DSW 139/55)

It became apparent that due to the lack of women staff as compared to men (data will be shown in Chapter 9), a plan to recruit more women was at work at the DSW. Perhaps, the recruitment of more women was seen appropriate and important because usually most of the DSW's clients were women and the social services significantly involved them. Thus, these women would find it easier to consult women social workers in matters regarding their welfare. This subsequently brought up the issue of training of new welfare workers.

One of the policies of the Children's Service was to ensure that there was help from the most appropriate source for every child who was in real need of care and protection. Such a child might be orphaned or abandoned, destitute, neglected or ill-treated, disabled or from a very poor family. In fact, the service existed to provide deprived child with a normal home life. In its policy of providing assistance from the most appropriate source, the Children's Service held as a basic underlying principle in its work the preservation of the family as a unit. It considered that the child could best be helped within the setting of his or her own family, and ultimately within the setting of his or her community and society. Thus, the functions of the Children's Services were:

- (i) to provide help, referral and advice in prevention of family break-up;
 - (ii) to provide good substitute homes [foster homes];
 - (iii) to provide residential care [children's homes];
 - (iv) to impose on legislation, that is, the CYPO 1947
- (DSW, undated)

In 1955, the state and settlement officers had to fulfil a large number of responsibilities that were regarded as purely federal. The Federal Department's work in the professional fields included the creation of services to be rendered to children. The Federal Department, under the Chief and Deputy CSWO, was responsible to the Minister of Health and Social Welfare for providing professional advice regarding social problems and implementing the Minister's directives on policies and practices. The chief expert on the Child Welfare and Federal Institutions was under the responsibility of the appropriate Service Head, although the responsibility for the children was largely delegated to the state and settlement of Social Welfare Officer (SWO) (P/PM3 *FMAR 1956*).

Discussion

Social Welfare

Since the British colonial officers did not yet realise what constituted social welfare, considerable confusion during the 1940s and early 1950s resulted (Colonial Office, 1946). In its widest sense, the term social welfare 'might be deemed to embrace every aspect of the well-being of a nation' (P/SUMU2 *MUAR 1946*) including services pertaining to education, health (Colonial Office, 1946), housing, rural areas, labour and

co-operative societies (Mair, 1944; Middlebrook and Pinnick, 1949; Jones, 1953; Jones, 1958).

In addition to the two departments, that is, the Chinese Protectorate and the Labour Department stated earlier in this chapter, several government agencies existed in Malaya such as the Medical and Health Department, and the Education Department, which had helped with the provision of welfare by the DSW, with the assistance of various voluntary agencies such as the Christian missionaries as well.

However, certain functions carried out by the abovementioned departments, such as the Education Department and the Medical and Health Department, had been taken over by the DSW (PS 283/49) following the war. The establishment of the DSW seemed to suggest that the Department's duties were to co-ordinate social services undertaken by existing departments and to promote those aspects of social welfare which were not of special interest or concern to other departments (P/SUMU2 MUAR 1946). Social welfare work carried out by the DSW could meet the requirement for welfare work anywhere in Malaya, which could not be done by other departments or voluntary associations. Many of the services rendered by the DSW for children will be explored later in Chapters 7, 8 and 9.

Here it can be noted that some of the services rendered by the DSW (see Chapter 7) overlapped with those provided by other departments and voluntary agencies. Work that appeared to be a matter for the DSW was, at the same time, being handled by other departments or *ad hoc* committees. With this issue in mind, Harvey, the acting CSWO, points out that:

.... care must be taken to see that there is no overlapping. There are many Departments engaged in social welfare and it must be precisely laid down after consultation as to when the responsibilities of one end and those of the Social Welfare Department begin.

(MU 2247/46)

He further stressed, 'it is ridiculous to suppose that [the DSW] should take over' all the responsibilities from the Medical Department and the Education Department for instance, 'merely because they are "social welfare" work in its broadest sense' (SS 149/46). While a system for public health and hygiene and public education had been established from the beginning of the century, it was only with the opening of the DSW that systematic efforts were inaugurated to give relief to the destitute, including the welfare of orphans, widows, vagrants and disabled people for which no department of the government catered for at that time (SS 149/46). The DSW, either directly or through voluntary associations, developed a set of programmes and institutions that sought to improve the social welfare of the people of Malaya. In health services, for example, although the Medical Department dealt with the health of the whole population, some aspects of its work were closely linked with the DSW and other voluntary agencies. Government hospitals provided treatment for the poor and schoolchildren. Dispensaries in towns were provided by the Medical Department while clinics in *kampongs* were provided by the Red Cross (Jones, 1958). Institutions for the care of lepers and mental patients, and supply of free milk to schoolchildren were administered by many governmental departments.

Post-war social welfare policy

It should be borne in mind that until 1946 there was no plan, co-ordination and efficient supervision to formulate a social welfare policy for the state, although these were the main functions the DSW had to perform at that time (SS 149/46). Dr Rawson comments about his work that 'Working with the full requirements of the technical branches/services....I am still to all intents and purposes working single-handed on policy, administration, technical services and the rest' (CO 859/221/4). Selangor SWO, SR Dawson, in his letter to the Selangor State Secretary lamented that:

As far as I can discover, there is nothing on my fields about a general policy for the Department of Social Welfare which has been approved by the state government. Some weeks ago, I approached the Chief Social Welfare Officer to enquire whether such a policy had been set out at Federal level, which I might take as a guide, but understand that so far there is no such approved policy. I do not know whether a policy at State level is necessary or desirable at the present time owing to the considerable limitations imposed on its scope by lack of funds.

(SS 199/53)

Generally, each state and settlement tackled its own problems in its own way with regards to relief and welfare matters since no definite policy had been formulated for the whole Malaya at that time (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1947). Therefore, 'it is not surprising that many social welfare needs were inadequately served or totally unmet' since there was no general guide on policy (P/PM (EK) 1, 1955: 110), although there were ordinances set up, as will be clarified in Chapter 8.

As discussed in Chapter 4, the early social welfare services in Malaya started with the welfare of immigrant labourers. Eleanor M. Hinder's⁸ visit to Malaya shed some light and direction towards the development of social welfare, which at that time, was always associated with labour issues.⁹ She wrote a memorandum (MU 2247/46) entitled 'Some comments upon Developing Labour Administration and Policy in Malaya' and made some suggestions towards the establishment of social welfare services.¹⁰ However, basing on the letters that were sent by top officers,¹¹ Hinder proposed services pertaining to labour, which provided evidence for the researcher's claim that social welfare in Malaya began with services in the interests of labour.

Discussions about welfare policy were still taking place after the establishment of the DSW. Even the CSWO proposed a delay in framing a long-term policy for Malaya due to multi-ethnic issues and lack of well-trained staff to help with the running of social welfare services. Harvey wondered whether social welfare, which was considered most urgent and most pressing in urban areas overwhelmingly populated by the Chinese, 'might raise some racial feeling' (MU 2247/46). On the other hand, the situation in villages or rural areas, where the majority of Malays lived, was very different because these places were often difficult to reach and the people were widely

⁸ Hinder was a high-ranking official, who had formerly been attached to the British Consulate in Shanghai.

⁹ H.R. Hone, Malaya Chief Civil Affairs Officer in his letter to the Colonial Office mentioned the many discussions with Hinder on social welfare problems and Malaya's "labour troubles". Hinder was thinking of long-term policy. Hone found that Hinder was the most knowledgeable and sound person, and hoped that she could revisit the country to discuss the issue of labour (MU 2247/46).

¹⁰ Among the suggestions were: organisation of the Labour Department; Indian immigration "recruiting"; the establishment of a Labour Exchange; labour welfare, including housing, medical care, education of children; Trade Union legislation; and appointment of a labour statistical officer.

¹¹ John Jeff, MU Commissioner of Labour in his letter to the Chief Secretary of the MU, A.T. Newbould, praised Hinder's report on *Labour and Social Policy*, [because it came] 'from one with a good knowledge of labour developments elsewhere, [Hinder was] able to make quick survey of conditions when the civil administration had not taken over and conditions were somewhat chaotic' (LD 48/46).

separated (MU 2247/46). He advised that 'social welfare centres could be established to which those in need could come' (MU 2247/46). To him, the immediate issue was the legacy of the war: services for war victims first. In fact, Harvey hoped that the 'Long-term Policy and Estimates' could be postponed until the completion of preliminary investigations made by competent staff (MU 2247/46). It seems that Harvey was not in favour of, or not yet ready to carry out, the policy laid down by the policymakers at that time.

During the first two months of the British re-occupation, no officers were available for duty in the Refugees and Displaced Persons Branch and it fell to the Labour Department to undertake the work in the early stages (SS 149/46). One of the constraints reported by Harvey was that plenty of work needed to be done, but the number of staff during the post-war months was rather limited: '...without transport, without a deputy and with only temporary untrained clerical staff with a number of urgent matters [and] officers who have had little experience of civil government methods of administration' (MU 2247/46).

Because of the limitation, it was possible to employ clerks who had no experience and training in social welfare to run the office (EWO 1, 2003). In addition, other executive officers were inevitably recruited in the UK while the remaining officers were recruited locally (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1946*). Training of social welfare workers will be discussed further in Chapter 9.

Because the problem of the lack officers and transport was almost ignored when the BMA ended (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1946*), relief and welfare work was confined to those places where distress was most apparent, that is, urban areas where most Europeans,

Chinese and Indians lived. The establishment of a Relief Office (RO) in rural areas throughout the country was regarded as a matter of urgent necessity.

The Relief Office

Prior to 1950, the majority of the DSW's work was concerned with "relief", which gave the Department 'an unfortunate background, for it took a long while to live down the idea that social welfare meant relief' (CO 859/224/7). The DSW was also known as the Relief Office which describes its main function at that time. Generally, poor and distressed people had looked upon the Relief and Welfare Department and its officers as their representatives and friends for help and assistance. The people regarded welfare officer as liaison between themselves and voluntary associations that could assist them. The Relief Officer (RO) had interests in all relief institutions and homes that functioned in the state, revealed Captain Watts, a Relief Officer and representative of the Salvation Army. It was also within the Relief Office's scope to obtain free medical attention for the destitute in local hospitals, secure admittance for children into the homes, or try to trace their relatives.

The RO had to deal daily with many relief applications which required thorough investigation. Naturally, this resulted in a very great proportion of time being taken up. The RO tried to reduce the quota of relief and increase the quota of other more constructive work since the work of the RO was not just for "charity". However, this was difficult since the general conception the public had of welfare was "charity" (PS 68/49).

The relief work in Malaya was unique in its own way, as compared to other colonies, since three major ethnic groups which relied on their own features of services existed. Dr Rawson stressed that Malaya, in contrast to other colonies was 'with a community of mixed races, customs and traditions' (CO 859/224/7). Malays, Chinese and Indians were composed of diverse groups. Malays consisted of aboriginal tribes such as the Jakun, Senoi, Semang and Temiar, as well as those from other Malay Archipelago such as the Achehnese, Bugis, Minangkabau, Pattani (Syed Husin, 1981):

It was easy for the Malay immigrants to assimilate even though they came from abroad. They could make friends easily with the people here, even if they were new to the environment. There was no problem as both parties practiced the same culture and so on. It was easy for the Malays. But as for the Chinese and Indians, they practice different cultures. This caused a few problems that needed to be taken care of.

(EWO 1, 2003)

The Chinese consisted of various groups such as the Cantonese, and Hokkienese. Each group had its own ideas, customs and needs that the government had to consider when providing grants. In the past, Chinese *towkays* and the Buddhist associations had cared for the Chinese destitute. The *towkays* had assumed responsibility for this work and met the expenses out of private donations. The situation at that time was not acute, though the Chinese hoped that the government would assist in social welfare work (SUKT 224/45). The Deputy Commissioner for Kemaman in Terengganu, A. J. Heal, commented that he 'found it difficult to co-ordinate the work, as each had its own ideas and requirements' (SUKT 224/45). Each group within the community had its own representatives elected to voice their problems, and there were three squads of charity collectors from three ethnic groups (SUKT 224/45). For instance, even though the

Malays could secure some financial allocation from the Religious Department and Malay Association, they also had to rely on the government to cover the cost of their activities (SUKT 224/45).

Because of the distinct features of the claimants, the RO had a Central Relief Committee made up of representatives from the committees of each ethnic group, such as the Malay, the Chinese, the Indian, the Eurasian and the Ceylonese. The Relief Committees that were set up in the main towns each had a sub-committee that sent up representatives to the Central Committee (*Malayan Daily News* 7/6/1946).

Dr Rawson also pointed out that all communities were involved in the welfare work and he commented:

The most pleasant of all observations that I can make is that nowhere is there any indication that any welfare service is for the benefit of any particular community. All communities are members of the committees, and all communities take part in welfare work and each community competes one with another to see which can produce the best results.

(CO 859/224/7)

Although there were various communities in Malaya, the welfare services rendered by the RO were not meant for the benefit of any particular community, as posited by Dr Rawson.

Conclusion

The chapter has shown that the establishment of the Chinese Protectorate and the Labour Department by the colonial government were the earliest departments to cater for the welfare of the people in Malaya. However, both departments catered more to non-Malays. The setting up of these two departments was indicative of the priority

placed on Chinese and Indian labourers. As pointed out within Chapter 2, because Britain had a great demand for raw materials, social welfare schemes were mainly introduced to serve the interests of Chinese and Indians labourers who significantly provided the labour so that the British could effectively exploit Malayan economic resources.

Seemingly, early social welfare services in Malaya were established to only tackle labour issues. Hinder's visit to Malaya (MU 2247/46) and the fact the second CSWO, J.C. McDoull, had working experience in the Chinese protectorate, signalled the priority given to the labour.

The war in 1942-1945 contributed to the change of the colonial government's role in Malaya. The emergence of the DSW, the colonial government's agency, was the government's earliest attempt to cater for the welfare of the whole Malayan population. Although the DSW had been established, the comments of Rawson (CO 859/221/4) and Dawson (SS 199/53) have shown that no uniquely Malayan welfare policy existed at that time. As a result, the DSW officers took actions as they deemed necessary using their own methods. In fact, the CSWO indicated two reasons for the delayed establishment of long-term social welfare policy in Malaya. The first reason was multiethnic and the second was the lack of well-trained personnel.

The chapter has also revealed that the government, through the DSW, had also taken responsibility to provide welfare services to children irrespective of their ethnic groups. Although steps were taken to look into the children's welfare, progress was slow because the government had not considered children's welfare an important issue

at that time. Further discussion that strengthens this argument will be provided in subsequent chapters.

Nevertheless, further progress in the welfare services was made eventually. Accordingly, the subsequent chapter will discuss the new government's policy on development and welfare, with the creation of the Social Service Department (SSD), the Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee (CSWAC), Child and Youth Welfare Sub-Committee (CYWSC) and the Colonial Development and Welfare (CDW).

CHAPTER 6

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE POLICY

Introduction

The transformation brought about by colonialism, as discussed in Chapter 4, triggered the emergence of social welfare services, and brought new ideas concerning development and welfare for the colonial territories during the period of decolonisation.¹ This chapter focuses on aspects of welfare policy from the Colonial Office's point of view, and perspectives that affect the planning of social welfare services in Malaya. It explores decolonisation as a period of transition in the history of British colonialism. This was a step towards the definition and expression of policies which were more ambitious and more extensive, as defined with the establishment of the Social Service Department (SSD), the Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committee (CSWAC), the Child and Youth Welfare Sub-Committee (CYSWC) and the Colonial Development and Welfare (CDW) Act as a mechanism for implementing social welfare policy in the colonies. The chapter will also provide an overview of colonial principles and proposals concerning child welfare in the colonies.

¹ Springhall (2001: 2), for instance, refers to the term decolonisation as 'the surrender of external political sovereignty, largely Western European, over colonised non-European peoples, as well as the emergence of independent territories when the transfer of power from empire to nation-state occurred'. See also McIntyre (1998), for the meaning of this term.

A New Colonial Policy: Development and Welfare

The end of the British Empire

The post-war period was considered ‘one of the most momentous changes to take place’ (Springhall, 2001: 1), because at this time countries in the colonial empires in Africa, Asia, the Middle East and the Pacific almost completely gained their independence from the European colonial powers (Springhall, 2001).² Before the end of the Second World War, the British had made plans to re-occupy former colonial territories that were lost to the Japanese in the Far East. Losing the Empire was the most striking development in this period as Britain had lost her status as a great power; as Fitzsimons (1953: 55) noted, ‘her imperial prestige could not recover from her collapse’.

The Empire had been a ‘peripheral issue during the 1945 UK general election. The guidelines for Labour’s colonial policies had been drawn just before and during the war in relation to social, political and economic regeneration’ (James, 1998: 527). Whilst Britain was in the middle of a period of intense critical self-examination and post-war reconstruction, threatening events in the Far East caused anxiety. Ernest Bevin, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, looked ahead in a characteristically ambiguous statement:

There are Indonesia, Malaya, Ceylon, and a new China emerging. There is all that new development, and I think the policy we have to follow so far as the dependent territories are concerned which are emerging into independence, is to nurse them, guide them, help them to change over as a going concern, to keep their administration intact, to provide them with experts.

(Hansard, 21 February 1946, clmns. 1361-1362)

² Ten colonies achieved independence, starting with Jordan in 1946, followed by Pakistan (1947), India (1947), Burma (1948), Ceylon (1948), Palestine (1948), Libya (1951), Sudan (1956), Gold Coast (1957) and Malaya (1957).

Britain was experiencing a different circumstance after the war. 'There was an overwhelming sense that whatever else happened there could never be a return to the pre-war world with its inefficiencies, social inequality and economic drifting' (James, 1998: 499).

Additionally, Britain was facing a serious economic crisis during the post-war period. For many years prior to 1939, Britain enjoyed a substantial income from overseas investments. However, after World War II, a greater part of that income was lost. Britain lost many of its investments and incurred large debts to finance the war, and it became difficult to pay for the previous scale of imports from current income. Britain could not do so without a substantial increase of earnings from the sale of exports. A.C. Jones, the Secretary of State for the colonies at that time, hoped that the colonies would understand the nature of these economic difficulties and the changing circumstances that affected them. He also considered the ways the colonies could collaborate with Britain to ensure greater stability and prosperity (DSW 53). The colonial territories were advised not to add to the 'UK's difficulties by themselves importing more than they could pay for with current earnings since that would involve using up colonial reserves' (DSW 53).

The British planners appraised the past, seeing the future as a chance for Britain to do better and 'planned for decolonisation, but not always in the way it came about' (Tarling, 1998: 412). The end of the British Empire brought a change of attitude towards the burdens of colonial role, and this change played a key part in disengaging from colonial responsibilities (Springhall, 2001). For Britain, post-war decolonisation demolished the old geographic, socio-cultural and economic system. There was a

feeling that the 'empire was fast becoming too burdensome and served no strategic or economic purpose for the mother country' (Springhall, 2001: 5) and sending colonial experts to advise the colonies, for instance, was seen as a job not worth doing.

Nevertheless, it can be said that the end of the British Empire did not imply the reduction of British commitment towards dependencies. In fact, the decolonisation period was seen as a period of reconstructing the colonies, with the reconciliation of new development policy under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office in London.

The Colonial Office

The impact of the war served to accelerate political development as well as stimulate a review of the Colonial Office's responsibilities. The office was concerned with the growth of political awareness, the development of economic resources, and the raising of social standards in the colonies. Its tasks included advising on social policy and services and looking after the welfare of colonials (Cmd. 7167). Although the emphasis was on economic development (Rudner, 1972), social welfare obligations were also fulfilled by the government because 'economic development unsupported by social welfare creates as many problems as it solves and it seems inevitable that these two aspects must go hand in hand' (CO 859/373).

The government began to think about giving assistance to colonial territories in social development although the progress made in these two directions varied widely depending on the circumstances and needs of individual territories (Cmd. 7167). Between 1937 and 1940, there were many serious changes in British colonial policies regarding the interests of the labourers. Labour in the colonial territories was no longer

treated as an ad-hoc issue. It needed a more systematic strategy, especially regarding the labourers' working environment.

By the outbreak of the Second World War, the Colonial Office had already begun to look at wider issues of welfare and development in the colonies, since the Social Service Department (SSD) had been within the Colonial Office since 1938.³ As was mentioned in Chapter 5, the SSD's task was to direct labour and social policy to the colonial empire, to provide advisers on social planning and policy making, and to monitor social welfare activities in the colonies (Thurston, 1995).

The Social Services Department (SSD)

During the war, the Colonial Office underwent considerable expansion. The SSD was one of the branches in the Colonial Office whose activities were greatly enhanced when, in 1943, it was divided into two parts: the first retaining the name of SSD while the other acquiring separate status as a Welfare Department (Cmd. 7167). The existence of the subject departments⁴ with specialists including social welfare experts helped to initiate and implement a new concept of development and social welfare that was beyond the scope of the pre-war organisation of the Office.

In the departmental organisation of the Colonial Office itself, important additions and rearrangements were made. To cater for the expansion of work, the SSD

³ Thurston (1995) points out that the SSD was first proposed in 1938 at a meeting on colonial labour questions and it was then created in April 1939.

⁴ Because of the demands of war and the need to improve social conditions in the colonies, the Colonial Office was obliged to negotiate problems on a subject basis. The growth of the subject departments implied recognition by the Office that expert advice was necessary for rational colonial development (Rampersad, 224).

was divided into two departments in 1946: one to deal primarily with education and social welfare, and the other with labour, health, and nutrition (Cmd. 7167).

At the same time, the number of advisers increased and, by the end of the war, the Colonial Office was advised by 14 committees on various aspects of social welfare and economic development, including the establishment of the Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Council (CSWAC), which will be discussed in the next section. It seemed that a liberal outlook developed when the Colonial Office reformed its organisation in an attempt to respond to new opportunities and challenges created by the war. The policy of wartime reconstruction and the effect of the war strengthened and tightened central control over colonial activities in social welfare (Cmd. 7167).

Colonial Social Welfare Advisory Committees (CSWAC)

The CSWAC was established in 1943 for the purpose of stimulating and co-ordinating work in the field of social welfare. The efforts of officers and committees were wide, including advising the Secretary of State (MU 6198/47) on a range of matters. Although the Secretary of State was neither obliged to refer any matters to these advisory committees, nor to accept their advice, their views were given due weight in the office (Thurston, 1995).⁵ The scope of the responsibility of the Committee members included giving advice, relieving destitution, providing welfare services for the sick and clubs and associations for adolescents and adults, organising rural welfare, and creating co-operative movements and thrift societies. The important question of the planning of

⁵ The CSWAC constitutional and legal position was considered at the end of 1942, and a directive issued in 1943 emphasized that their function was to use their special knowledge to assist the Secretary of State and to advise administrative officers. Attempt was made to institutionalise regular meetings between the advisers and the official staff (Lee and Peter, 1982; Thurston, 1995).

training schemes for both European and colonial social welfare workers was included in the terms of reference (MU 6198/47).

The members of the Committee consisted of experts covering a wide field of experience (MU 6198/47), including Colonial Office officials and outside members representing other government departments directly concerned with the social welfare of the people. In particular, the Medical, Agricultural, Veterinary, Labour, Co-operative and Education Departments were respectively represented. The various government departments were conceived as part of a co-operative effort in which all bodies and organizations with colonial interests, educational or scientific organizations, both official and unofficial, played their part (CO 825/47/17: Thurston, 1995).

With new emphasis on economic development, the number of advisers and assistant advisers was systematically expanded after the war to create a comprehensive pool of technical expertise (Thurston, 1995). The number of advisory committees also increased rapidly after the war due to the complexity and range of problems which the office had to address, and the need to extend the field of consultation and supply specialist advice. The functions of the CSWAC were then transferred to the Advisory Committee on Social Development in the Colonies in 1953 until 1961. It advised on the provision of social welfare services, the promotion of community development, co-operation with voluntary agencies, and the training of social workers and community development staff (Thurston, 1995).

Child and Youth Welfare Sub-Committee (CYWSC)

Large committees normally set up sub-committees whenever ‘a subject merited special treatment’ (Thurston, 1995: 14) and thus CYWSC embarked on the issue of child welfare in the colonial territories. For some time, the Colonial Office staff in London had been attempting to initiate a study of Child and Youth Welfare as a follow-up to the ‘Social Welfare in the Colonies’ memorandum issued by the Secretary of State for the Colonies (MU 10869/47). In fact, the pamphlet, issued in 1945 and revised in 1948 by the Advisory Committee, was the only official publication that could be used by colonial officers as a general reference on social welfare in the colonial territories during the post-war period. As discussed in Chapter 5, in terms of the ambiguous policy on social welfare, it seems that the memorandum was not well circulated within the DSW offices in Malaya or perhaps the content of the memorandum was unclear to the staff. The last paragraph of the pamphlet, for example, states that:

The object of this memorandum has been to give concrete definition to the term “social welfare” in relation to the colonies; to indicate in a very general way the need and the opportunities for development; and to open up lines of thought as to immediate practical steps which can be taken to make progress and to eliminate delay so that, as far as may be possible, the means for dealing with social problems may keep pace with the growth of the problems themselves. It is hoped that this short and simple outline may be useful both in itself and as a general frame of reference to which it may be possible to relate a more detailed treatment, in subsequent memoranda, of particular aspects of the subjects.

(MU 10869/47)

This seems to suggest that the memorandum generally indicated the meaning of social welfare without specifically identifying the immediate practical steps for welfare of the children. The CYWSC was only established five years later, in 1950, which seemingly

suggests that child welfare in the colonial territories was regarded as a peripheral agenda during the immediate post-war period.

The CYWSC method of evaluation was to examine the subject in relation to groups of territories, that is, Africa West, East and Central; the Far East (including Malaya); the West Indies; and West Pacific and Atlantic and Indian Oceans (CO 859/373). The terms of reference used by the CYWSC were:

To review the field of child and youth welfare in the colonies and any special problem in this field referred to the Sub-Committee by the Advisory Committee and to report to the latter any recommendations arising from such a review.

(CO 859/373)

These terms of reference were purposely drawn widely, without specific focus on any colony. As an *ad-hoc* committee, CSWSC work was only to give a general idea of recommendations to make to the colonial government. If there were recommendations for certain kinds of provision, such as establishment of training centres for social welfare workers, it needed to consider the needs of all the territories, not only the needs of one colony. There was possibility of assistance and exchange within the group wherever one colony had made some special progress (CO 859/225/1), such as in building crèches in the work place.

The CYWSC also invited experienced expatriates on leave in England and nationals of various countries to attend their meetings (CO 859/373) in order to expound upon the idea of child welfare from different perspectives. As claimed by the CYWSC, they were not a team of experts qualified to give expert advice on any specific problem. However, their task was to 'draw attention to problems as they saw them and

to the need for grappling with them' (CO 859/373) through their experience. Furthermore, the CYWSC examined various reports and interviewed a number of officers of the Colonial Service on leave in the UK (CO 859/373).

The colonial scene

The CYWSC proposed methods by which some of the many, varied problems of widely differing territories might be tackled (CO 859/373). All territories were aware of the problems and difficulties they were facing, such as neglect of facilities for children and young people. However, historical circumstances, economic resources and general social situation, such as education, of the various territories contributed to the great diversity in tackling such problems (CO 859/373). Differences in family structure and customs also contributed to the diversity. Not only were the traditions of kinship and family life within the territories different from those in the West, they differed considerably even from territory to territory. In most rural areas of the less developed colonial territories, there were well-established traditions and customs which ensured that children were well cared for. Most ethnic groups observed these customs to the best of their ability. In fact, in many colonial territories it was regarded a rigid obligation to do so, and was seldom neglected. Nevertheless, with the breakdown of family and tribal life, the authority and influence of the tribes in many places rapidly began to weaken and was not always adequately replaced by some other authority, for example social services.

The stage of development of social services varied, with some territories being considerably advanced and others less developed. Basic social services often existed

only in skeleton form in many colonial territories. Education, for example, was not available to the majority of children in some territories. However, it was well advanced in some of the colonies. Additionally, although rapid strides had been made in most territories in the provision of health services, standards of health which existed and were taken for granted in more advanced countries were only a far-off ideal for many colonial territories (CO 859/373).

The abovementioned situation called for much flexibility and improvisation in the application of UK standard or methods within the colonies. However, recommendations in the report were only of general nature, and were offered in the hope that the experience of the UK may offer constructive ideas capable of local adaptation, enabling colonial governments to avoid mistakes made by the UK in the past (CO 859/373). This issue will be elaborated next.

Child welfare in the UK and in the colonial territories

The CYWSC believed that similarities between under-developed territories and the UK before and during the great social transformation, a time of gradual spreading of the state's responsibility towards welfare in the UK, of the nineteenth century existed. In the UK, extremes of poverty and wealth and the weakening of family influences were apparent (CO 859/373). Furthermore, a need to prevent deterioration in standards of living was evident. Thus, the CYWSC recommended addressing the treatment of deprived and neglected children, their nutritional and emotional needs and methods of handling disabled children, orphans and children from broken homes.

It seems that the tendency of colonial territories to repeat similar mistakes as made by the UK regarding child welfare was mentioned in the report. The main characteristics of child welfare in the UK at that time:

... [have] come in the wake of the basic social services, education and health; behind them is a long history of voluntary social effort inspired by enlightened individuals who perceived the needs of young people; the state (Central and local Government) has assumed a large measure of responsibility, control and supervision; there is a great proliferation of service exemplified by the many categories of social workers employed in both statutory and voluntary services.

(CO 859/373)

The CYWSC produced one significant memorandum, 'Child and Youth Welfare in the Colonial Territories' (CO 859/373), which was primarily intended for circulation to colonial governments as a guide to policy and practice (CO 859/373) for administrators and social workers responsible for the welfare of children. The memorandum was intended to enable colonial governments to gain experience from the UK and to avoid mistakes made in child welfare work in the UK (CO 859/373). The memorandum did not present any recommendations but tried to place the subject within the whole field of social development, to assess main priorities for action, and to stimulate discussion (CO 859/373).

The CYWSC was divided into two separate sections, that is, Child Welfare and Youth Welfare (CO 859/225/2), but they were not restricted to age range. In the lower age group, child welfare might impinge on infant and maternity welfare (CO 859/225/1). Some differences in child welfare services between Britain and the colonial territories emerged. For instance, in Britain, infant welfare centres were ran by health authorities. Children's committees ran nurseries for children up to the age of five years,

and education authorities ran nursery schools for children from the age of two. With regard to the upper age range, in some colonies, children were allowed by legislation to go to work at the age of twelve, whereas in England this was not so (CO 859/373). However, the archival documents collected did not mention specific ages covered in their reports for both the lower and upper age range child in the colonial territories.

Education and Health

Education and the need for adequate medical care were considered by the Sub-Committee as of vital importance to all children (CO 859/373). In the great majority of colonial territories, universal education had not yet been attained and was not attained for many more years. Although education was regarded an important subject, progress in its provision was necessarily governed by the resources of each colonial government (CO 859/373).

The age range of the children for whom the CYWSC was concerned covered the most formative and impressionable years: the years before school (pre-school child), the years at school (school age child) and the years when a child or young person reaches working age (post-school child).⁶ As stressed in the report, any child who reached the age of ten and was not in school would generally be unlikely to receive formal education. However, as schools were not available everywhere, it was inevitable that education was not made compulsory in colonial territories (CO 859/225/2). In any country where universal primary education had not yet been attained, the years at school

⁶ Since this research will only look at the children below the age of 16 years and who had not reached working age, the third division will not be discussed. The researcher has no intention of covering the youth group.

were significant because they had only a short spell of primary education or no opportunity of going to school at all. Issues pertaining to the non-school child were prior concerns of the CYWSC.

In Malaya, education was compulsory for boys, but not for girls since many Malay families were reluctant to allow their girls to attend school because they had greater social responsibility (CO 997/16). However, it was unlikely that girls wishing to attend would be turned away from school. The CYWSC realised that it would be premature at this stage to ask Muslims to accept compulsory education for girls and there was little use in making it compulsory until there were enough schools to accommodate all applicants. Nonetheless, an initiative to encourage Muslim girls to attend school gained ground when the Malay Teacher Training College, established in 1935, turned out approximately 80 women teachers a year (CO 859/225/2).

Whilst the CYWSC recognised the importance of the care of newborns and infants, highest importance in most territories was placed on the welfare of child who did not get any schooling at school age (CO 859/373). The welfare of school age child who got no schooling, and the care of pre-school child were included in the “first” priorities group for the CYWSC.

Pre-school child

The CYWSC’s suggestions for the welfare of pre-school children are shown in Table 6.1. From the table, it can be seen that no provision in nursery schools for feeding or training the young child existed. This is because, in the Sub-Committee’s view, it would be unfair to concentrate money on this younger section of the child population at the

expense of children of school age. Despite the fact that half the children in Malaya were unable to attend school owing to a lack of teachers and buildings, the Sub-Committee concentrated on providing for the necessities of school age children first (CO 859/373).

The CYWSC viewed that women could, however, be given the idea of training young children on a voluntary basis, but the drive would need to come from the women themselves (CO 859/225/2). However, the issue of child-mother separation arose in relation to this training idea because mothers were rather reluctant to leave their children in somebody else's care. As reported by the CYWSC, it was often difficult to persuade mothers to leave their children while they attended knitting or cookery classes (CO 859/225/2).

	Suggested Actions	Intentions / Aims
(1)	Increasing attention paid to infant welfare work through utilization of facilities of the voluntary organisations.	Able to supplement the infant welfare work of the medical departments.
(2)	Employment of trained nursery staff in crèches.	Able to provide a beginning for the education of young children.
(3)	Setting up of training centres staffed by trained officers with knowledge of the full development of infants and young children.	Train leaders to take all stages to ensure the strengthening of home life.
(4)	Education for parents in child welfare, importance of a social bias in teacher training and the school curriculum, and public awareness of the child population and in growing body of undisciplined and anti-social behaviour.	Change parents' attitude towards the child.

Table 6.1: The CYWSC's suggested actions for pre-school children.
Source: CO 859/373

School age child

The CYWSC also suggested the possibility of extending welfare services to cater for educational and recreational needs of the school age children. Many territories were lacking in resources such as staff even though it seems that formal education had been given the “first” priority. The CYWSC also suggested improvising and making use of existing services or other means to provide what was lacking in education at school (CO 859/373).

The “second” priorities, which included treatment of delinquency, care of those deprived of a normal home life, and care of the handicapped, were classified as secondary welfare services because the CYWSC had assumed that the total number of children and young people involved was small in proportion compared to the whole population (CO 859/373).

The treatment of delinquency

Welfare services for neglected or illegitimate children were also suggested by the CYWSC to ensure they become useful citizens. Otherwise, as the CYWSC believed, these children would produce future families with more acute problems. Through the Treatment of Offenders Committee and the annual training courses conducted for senior officers, good opportunities for passing on experience gained in UK of modern methods of treatment were presented. The CYWSC particularly stressed the social value of strong probation and after-care services. This is because, by that time, nearly all territories had introduced legislation for the treatment of young offenders. However, to make that legal provision effective, the CYWSC stated that specialised knowledge and

staffing by skilled officers would be required for juvenile courts, probation system, and training institutions for these offenders (CO 859/373).

Children deprived of a normal home life

The loss of parents or other care following a break-up of the family group through death, divorce, neglect, and other causes has its origin mainly in rapid development of industrialisation. A child so deprived may be affected physically and mentally.

Preventive Measures		Remedial Measures
(1)	Seeks to stabilise and improve home life.	Underlying principle is to keep the child at home if possible.
(2)	To be carried out on a broad front involving: <ul style="list-style-type: none">i. educationii. sufficient health and medical servicesiii. pre-natal care of mothersiv. regulations to prevent premature employment of children or children being exploited in industry or on land, etc.	Seek to restore the home so that the child can return to normal home life.
(3)		Able to provide the child with the best possible substitute if (1) and (2) above fail.

Table 6.2: Suggested measures for improving living standards of families
Source: CO 859/373

Thus, the CSWC suggested preventive or remedial measures to improve the living standards of families (CO 859/373). These measures, shown in Table 6.2, seemingly

focussed more on the well-being of the children and helping families in the colonial territories.

Colonial Principles

The British government recognised the role and importance of parents and guardians in child development and well-being, and believed that parents or guardians have a primary duty to provide the means by which the child can lead a full and free life. The government also upheld the birthright of all children in any society to receive these fundamental opportunities, including welfare. Additionally, the CYWSC believed that each colonial government should accept responsibility to ensure that adequate provision be made for children, as far as possible within the framework of family life.

The CYWSC also stressed that the government must assume responsibility for planning and implementing measures for providing adequately for the children (CO 859/373). The basis of the colonial government's duty towards the child was the belief that it was the right of children to grow up as well-balanced, self-reliant and self-respecting men and women (CO 859/373). The colonial government believed that no children in any country should, by circumstances of poverty or neglect, or the loss of parents, or any other disability, be deprived of physical, emotional, or mental care, education, or opportunity for spiritual development. In so far as their aptitudes and abilities allowed, the care and training of these children should be directed towards making them independent and responsible citizens, able to support their families and themselves, and having a reasonable chance of maintaining happy relationships within

their family pattern (CO 859/373). Thus, it seems that the colonial government had a positive attitude towards child welfare in the territories.

The role of voluntary organisations in welfare work was always recognised by the colonial government (CO 859/373). The CYWSC urged colonial governments to take steps not only to encourage work and extension of existing organisations, but also to stimulate the establishment of additional voluntary organisations. This encouragement was recommended to indigenous local voluntary efforts as well.

Finally, the CYWSC also suggested that social welfare work might be carried out by various agencies, both voluntary bodies and government departments. Unfortunately, although much work was carried out by a number of agencies, it was not always coordinated and a certain amount of overlapping took place. Consequently, many gaps materialized. This led to confusion and waste of effort which could have been avoided. As a result, the CYWSC suggested either the establishment of a single co-ordinating body, such as the Council of Social Services, or the extension of existing councils. In fact, all the Far Eastern territories already had an advisory body (CO 859/225/2) and Malaya already had a council, namely the Central Welfare Council (CWC).⁷

⁷ The CWC was established on 23/5/1946, with committees in each state and settlement and district welfare committees (CO 859/224/7). The Council was free from official control and received full government support and the assistance of the DSW. As an unofficial body, its functions were:

- i) To co-ordinate all existing welfare services.
- ii) To assist and promote the efforts of the welfare workers in consultation with the State and Settlement Welfare Committees and with the government.
- iii) To make recommendations to the government on the financial or other aid necessary for the success of welfare work.
- iv) To raise and distribute funds from the public for welfare work and to promote public interest in their responsibilities in this field (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1946).

The Council had the dual functions of maintaining contact between the DSW and the public, and of organising the personal and financial help that was needed to supplement the Department's work. It

However, from the report, it appeared that no single authority in the colonies was responsible for the welfare and protection of children. The CYWSC recommended that the government of each territory be charged with the duty of ensuring, either by itself or through local agencies, the adequate provision throughout the territory the welfare and protection of children (CO 859/225/2). It was likely that implementation of this duty could only be carried out by the full co-operation of all agencies dealing with children, such as the government, voluntary organisations or employers (CO 859/225/2).

The establishment of departments and committees revealed in the above discussion indicated that attempts were indeed made by the Colonial Office to co-ordinate activities in the colonies including Malaya. Furthermore, it seems that these attempts were based on Western ideas and practices.

The British also provided economic assistance for the development of the colonial territories. This issue will be highlighted in the next section.

Colonial Development and Welfare Acts⁸

In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, British policy had been influenced by beliefs that a colony should live within its own revenue means, and that the government should be less involved in the colony's economic life. Nevertheless, the government realised that there was a great need for extending social services of the colony to enable

maintained its policy of grant-in-aid to welfare institutions in need of temporary support and in emergencies, such as fires and floods (DSW 85).

⁸ There were a series of Acts passed between the years 1929 to 1970. The CDW Act of 1929 is generally regarded 'as a turning point in colonial policy' (Rampersad, 1979: 1), while the Act of 1940 and the successive Acts under the same title, provided the statutory basis and backbone for colonial development over the following 30 years. This study deals with CDW Act particularly in the period of research, 1946-1957, and any relevant Acts will also be discussed.

it to develop towards self-government. It was the British policy to make each colony as self-sufficient as possible. Hence, some assistance from the Colonial Development and Welfare (CDW) Funds were given, with necessary expenditure to get it going. However, the colony still needed to finance its own development from its own resources if it wanted to avoid strict Treasury control, which could further inhibit the colony's development. The Treasury was cost-conscious of the colonies. For instance, 'between 1919 to 1939, it has been estimated that expenditure by the British government on all of the colonies, was just over £2 million a year' (Cf. Hodge, 1973: 211).

Prior to the war, much debate was waged regarding the wisdom of promoting colonial development due to deteriorating economic situation and increased unemployment in Britain. The British government viewed colonial development as necessary for both the colonies and for stimulating the British economy. Thus, the 1929 CDW Act aimed not only to foster economic development, but also to aid and develop agriculture and industry in the colonies, consequently promoting commerce, and industry in the UK (Meredith, 1975; Rampersad, 1979). Under the terms of the CDW Act of 1929, £1 million a year was to be made available to colonial governments in the form of grants or loans. The Act was closely linked with the problem of unemployment (Hodge, 1973) whereby the import of raw goods increased the chances of manufacturing employment in the UK. Although the unemployment problem rather than the stimulation of colonial economies was the main aim of the Act, it was welcomed by all parties as 'a long overdue contribution by Britain to the economic development of her colonial dependencies' (Cmd. 6175).

The Colonial Office was also beginning to implement a more progressive policy of economic development and social welfare in the colonies. However, as earlier discussion has shown, the Office did not yet realise what constituted social welfare since this concept was in its infancy stages in the UK and in the colonies. The changing concept of the 'role of the state, with the emphasis on greater intervention to regulate social affairs and the evidence of poor economic conditions, transformed attitudes to social welfare' (Rampersad, 1979: 378-379). Social welfare development came to be seen as the basis on which, and through which, economic development was to be built upon. The finance put into welfare programmes was intended to have effect on the economy to generate further development in the colonies.

The financial crisis in Great Britain in 1947 prompted the Colonial Office to press for colonial economic development. This consequently triggered the acceleration of economic development in the colonies. Hence, in this context, it was stressed that 'provision should be made for roads, railways, ports and the utilities, which are the framework on which good social life depends' (Cmd. 7167: 28). Thus, the British government was aware that political and social advance in the territories could be achieved only by means of economic development.

Meredith (1975: 485) stated that one of the British colonial policies was 'to raise the living standards of the people for whom the British government thought of itself as a trustee'. The central emphasis was that, before it thought of giving self-government to any colony, it was the moral obligation of the colonial government as a trustee towards the dependent peoples, who were its wards, to ascertain the economic prosperity that would make all these things possible and the new policy stable (Meredith, 1975).

Significantly, the British taxpayer had made the sums from the CDW Act available (PR 595/46) for maintaining the colonial territories.⁹

Since much of the cost of administration of the colonial empire fell on the British taxpayer, it seemed that the colonies had an obligation to extend the supply of raw materials to Britain and to provide a market for British manufactured goods (Meredith, 1975). Furthermore, 'to the English mercantilist the economic development meant the development of colonial natural resources for the benefit of the British peoples' (Wicker, 1958: 171). Thus, it was acknowledged by the British government that the economic development of her colonial territories was 'to be a joint responsibility to be shared by the peoples of the mother country as well as the indigenous peoples' (Wicker, 1958: 170).

The replacement of the 1929 CDW Act with the 1940 CDW Act was regarded as a watershed moment in British colonial policy, representing a further stage in the development of direct state intervention in the economy. It marked a decisive change in policy, described in some detail in the 'Statement of Policy on Colonial Development and Welfare' (Cmd. 6175), which preceded the 1940 Act. The statement announced 'a departure from the principle that territories were expected to rely on their own resources with occasional *ad hoc* assistance from the British government and accepted that many colonies needed regular subventions if they were to improve standards of living' (Morgan, 1980). Under its terms, £50 million were made available in the form of loans and grants for development and welfare programmes in the colonies as a whole. This

⁹ For instance, under the CDW Act of 1945, £120 million of the British taxpayers' money was contributed to planned development and welfare in the British colonies over a ten-year period ending 31/3/1956 (PR 595/46).

amount was to be expanded at the rate of up to £5 million a year for ten years in the furtherance of any project likely to 'promote the development of resources of any colony or the welfare of its people' (PR 328/47). An act to the effect was passed in 1940, although it was not until 1944 that funds became available for CDW loans to colonial administrations.

Towards the end of the war, the colonial government recognised that the sums available under the 1940 CDW Act were insufficient for the task of reconstruction in the post-war period. The most significant aspect of the policy initiated under the Act was the proposal of a ten-year plan of development. Thus, colonies were urged to plan and to concentrate on economic development. The victory of the Labour Party in Britain in the general election of 1945 did not cause any change in the policy of providing increased sums for development and for rapid progress in all spheres of colonial life. This is because in the Labour Government's view, in colonial affairs at least, it was wisest to continue to intensify the policy of colonial development and welfare pursued by its predecessor. Additionally, political and social progress could be achieved only if extensive economic development progressed. A Colonial Development Plan, calling for heavy capital investment and the acceleration of the production of primary goods, was inaugurated by the Labour Government (Fitzsimons, 1953).

The Secretary of State's circular despatch of 12 November 1945 was sent out to all colonies laying down certain principles on which the 1945 Act would operate and enumerating the allocations for the various colonies (Cmd. 6713). Development and Welfare funds were only one means of financing the policy of reconstruction and local revenues, and loans were to be utilised as much as possible (Rampersad, 1979).

Colonies were directed to prepare comprehensive plans of development covering the next ten years in order to ensure that ‘....all resources available are used to the best advantage, that the vast field of possible development and welfare is surveyed, and that the sums to be devoted to each project are determined, so that the programmes form a well-balanced whole’ (Cmd. 6713). The despatch emphasized the need to maintain a proper balance between different objects of development and welfare, because ‘without economic development it will be impossible for the Dependencies to maintain from their own resources the improved standards which are desired for them’ (Cmd. 6713).

The 1945 CDW Act provided a vast increase in the monies available to all colonies to £120 million over a period of ten years, and extended the period during which the monies could be spent to March 1956 (PR 328/47; Cmd 7167). These funds could be drawn upon at any time, but were not to exceed £17.5 million each time. Allocations were also made to individual colonies enabling them to make future plans. Economic development per se was the principal target, because it provided the wherewithal for social and political development. However, if the larger sums available were used exclusively for welfare projects, and no substantial economic growth was realised, the economies would not generate sufficient funds to maintain the level of welfare provision attained at the end of the period of financial assistance. Therefore, it was seen as necessary that economic development be supported by increased allocations to projects specifically directed towards raising national incomes (Cook, 1985).

In the discussion so far, it is undoubted that the CDW Act was passed to bolster the economies of the colonies. Funds for social services were made available through Act whereby a large proportion of monies were allocated for infrastructure projects

(Rodney, 1972; Cmnd. 4677). Data in Table 6.3 indicate a summary of commitments under the CDW Act from April 1946 to March 1957. It clearly illustrates that about £170.2 million was allocated to education, medical and health services, housing and town development, water supplies and sanitation, and other miscellaneous services.

Item	Amount	Per cent Of total
(1) Administration and Organization	2.2	1.2
(2) Physical Planning, Surveys and Census	10.4	6.1
(3) Communications:		
(a) Civil Aviation	5.3	3.1
(b) Ports, Harbours and Water Transport	1.3	*
(c) Railways	2	*
(d) Roads	29.1	17.
(e) Telecommunications	.3	*
(4) Economic:		
(a) Agriculture and Veterinary	23.6	13.8
(b) Fisheries	.9	*
(c) Forestry	3.	1.7
(d) Irrigation and Drainage	4.7	2.7
(e) Land Settlement	1.	*
(f) Soil Conservation	2.	1.1
(g) Electricity and Power	.4	*
(h) Industrial Development	.6	*
(5) Social:		
(a) Education	32.9	19.3
(b) Medical and Health Services	19.2	11.2
(c) Housing and Town Development	6.1	3.5
(d) Nutrition	.2	*
(e) Water Supplies and Sanitation	16.2	9.5
(f) Broadcasting, Films and Public Information	2.	1.1
(g) Welfare	1.8	1.
(6) Training Schemes for the Overseas		
Civil Service	4.	2.3
(7) Miscellaneous	2.8	1.6
Total	170.2	96.2

Table 6.3: Summary of commitments under CDW Act from April 1946 to March 1957

* Less than 1 per cent

Source: Adapted from Wicker (1958: 189), CDW Act (34-35)

Another prominent feature is that education was given greater priority and became the largest single item on the budget as compared to the small allocation given to welfare because the British believed that education could provide ‘clerks for the bureaucracy’ (Ness, 1964: 313). Education could also solve the lack of administrators and train local personnel to replace expatriates (Francis and Ee, 1971). ‘Politically, education must serve the agreed policy of preparing the peoples of the colonies for self-government’ (Ward, 1959: 191).

Higher priority was also given to economic services and communication. It was argued that from this kind of investment economic growth would develop and the increased income could then be used to fund more social services. These arguments were all explicit in budget speeches and debates during that time (Ness, 1964).

Malaya had its own economic development plan, namely, the Draft Development Plan (DDP), for the period of 1950-55. The general conclusion of the DDP, states that ‘apart from whatever may be provided by the CDW Fund, very little capital will be available for expansion of the social welfare services’ (Malaya, 1950: 3), provides evidence that the government had placed little emphasis on social welfare agenda. Having said this, the development programme only included matters which were financed from the CDW Act of 1945 amounting to £5 million. Other types of development would have to be financed from other sources, such as revenue surpluses and public loans, raised locally or in London (PR 595/46). Emphasis was given to “productive” economic services. Accordingly, the largest portion of planned expenditure, amounting to over two-thirds the final budget, went to transport, telecommunications and public utilities. Whilst agriculture and land development

obtained 22 per cent, social services was only rendered 11 per cent of the funds allocated (Rudner, 1972). 'Social welfare services were still of uneven quality and effectiveness, and many very real needs were inadequately met or totally unprovided for' (Cf. Rudner, 1972).

It seems that economic assistance by the British government was dominated and determined by domestic issues. As colonialism came under heavy criticism during the last decades, more deliberate efforts were made to whitewash it, which had thus promoted the CDW Acts with functions including providing loans and helping the colonies develop their countries. In fact, the crisis of post-war reconstruction required even greater efforts to maximize the resources available in the colonies. This is particularly obvious in the post-war period when Britain needed raw materials and resources. In fact, it had hoped that the development of colonial resources could assist in the recovery of her economy, which was facing the strains imposed by the war.

Conclusion

As this chapter has revealed, the British government developed new ideas on social welfare and its relationship with development in Malaya during the post-war period. It can be concluded that the aftermath of the war influenced the way in which issues of development and welfare were resolved by the government in this period.

The chapter has identified the emergence of new welfare responsibilities of the government with the establishment of the SSD, the CSWAC, the CYWSC, and the CDW Acts within the Colonial Office. The establishment of the SSD to advise the

colonial government on social policy was of great importance, as this was a new field for the government.

The Colonial Office was not particularly concerned with child welfare services, hence its minimal involvement, but was much more concerned with labour legislation (Hay and Craven, 2004). As indicated in Chapter 5, and in this chapter, the Colonial Office's function prominently targeted the labourers. These labourers constituted the main workforce needed to boost the growth of the British economy. Rapid growth in the economy contributed to significant improvement in social welfare but provided very limited amount of revenue.

This chapter has also shown that welfare services received limited funding in contrast to others, for instance education. Education was regarded an important measure which likely to contribute to the country's growth but welfare was the least favoured provision because it was 'thought likely to restrict growth' (Holliday, 2005: 40) of a country. Therefore, a much lesser amount of funding was allocated for welfare services in the DDP of Malaya (see Table 6.3).

In the case of the CSWAC and the CYWSC, whilst they were only responsible for reporting real situations to other committees within the Colonial Office, their establishment did not significantly contribute to children's welfare in Malaya due to various administration and ethnic issues, as discussed in Chapter 5.

Now that an account of how the new policy on welfare and development has been provided, Chapters 7, 8 and 9 will embark on the presentation of the data which relates to child welfare services in Malaya.

CHAPTER 7

CHILD WELFARE SERVICES: PART I

Introduction

The Department of Social Welfare (DSW) was the major agency authorized to provide child care and protection in Malaya. Among post-war welfare issues that needed immediate attention were orphans and relevant services provided, that is, the Burma-Siam relief scheme and malnutrition.

This chapter will examine the services rendered by the DSW. It focuses on issues during the post-war period that triggered the government's desire to provide services to ensure the well-being of children. The chapter will also explain the DSW programmes designed to meet the children's needs. It will highlight the involvement of voluntary associations and other governmental departments that contributed in some specific forms towards the well-being of children. The chapter will also discuss other pertinent services namely crèches and child welfare centres, blind welfare, delinquent children, repatriation of detainees, vagrancy, children of prisoners, leper settlement, resettlement and immigration.

Post-War Welfare Issues

The present study seeks to analyse the development of the British colonial response to social consequences of the aftermath of the War. As revealed in Chapter 5, during the early establishment of the DSW, efforts had been made to deal with the most serious social issues of orphans and malnutrition (P/SUMU2 *MUAR* 1946).

Welfare arrangements were largely confined to groups generally categorised as the “needy” and ‘those in need of special help if they were to lead normal happy lives’ (Jones, 1958: iii). Even though children were part of the main group as argued by Jones (1958) and the main focus group in the study, it is important to note that children’s welfare was affected both directly and indirectly by availability of the services also provided to other groups of people, for instance, widows.

The orphans

This study has revealed that British administrators realised that they had to develop social welfare policies on a number of important issues. However, regardless of the policy or the intentions, the colonial administrators found themselves urgently confronting those who had been orphaned because of the War. According to F.H. Cooke, an Area Welfare Officer (AWO) of Penang, an “orphan” refers to ‘a child under the age of 16, who has lost one or both parents’ (RCP/WEL/179/47).

J.P. Blackledge, the Settlement Secretary of Penang, wrote a letter to the Chief Secretary of Malaya in Kuala Lumpur stating that ‘the primary function of government in connection with welfare should be the care of orphans, the blind, the aged and the decrepit....’ (PS 283/49). Ex-Welfare Officer (EWO) 1 (2003) noted that most of the orphans were Chinese. He stressed that ‘we can assume some problems occurred at the same time - displaced persons, abandoned children, orphaned children - because parents were killed, mostly were Chinese parents. Chinese got beaten up a lot by the Japanese’ (EWO 1, 2003). As pointed out earlier in Chapter 4, the impact of the Japanese occupation and the racial violence that ensued had devastating effects on the Chinese

children, which perhaps contributed to the adverse relationship among the Malays and the Chinese because the Japanese had mainly targeted the Chinese. So this could account for the fact that most of the orphaned were Chinese children.

The memorandum by the Chief Social Welfare Officer (CSWO), Dr Rawson revealed that there were a large numbers of widows and orphans during the Japanese occupation:

...it was clear that the primary problem to be dealt with on the West Coast of Malaya was the widows and orphans, principally the orphans and widows of Chinese and Indians taken off by the Japanese to work on the Burma-Siam Railway and the children of persons who were murdered by the Japanese during the occupation. It is known that such persons now exist in very large numbers and it is this which is the *raison d'être* of the decision to set up in a time of financial difficulty a new department.

(SS 149/46)

Dr Rawson has pointed out that the Burma-Siam Railway had significantly contributed to a large number of Chinese and Indians orphans. Accordingly, the government introduced the Burma-Siam relief scheme in 1947 to support the dependants of those who had lost their lives, or had become disabled from having worked on the Burma-Siam Railway. The heavy death rate amongst the labourers on the railways in Siam also meant that widows and orphans were found on nearly every estate (DCL 126/46). The scheme covered all orphans and widows (SS 224/48), including Indians living in estates and the Chinese living in mines (P/KEB 1 *DSWAR* 1948).¹ 'It is not a scheme for

¹ Circular letters were sent to managers of all estates, managers of mines, and heads of government departments, in order to assess the number of dependants who would rank for relief under this scheme (P/KEB 1 *DSWAR* 1948).

compensation or to provide ex-gratia payments' (P/KEB 1 *DSWAR 1948*), but a payment given as a gift.

The United Plantation Association of Malaya (UPAM) suggested the cost of giving financial assistance to these dependants should be borne by the government and channelled through the Indian Immigration Fund. However, the Indian Immigration Fund committee decided that its fund could not possibly undertake such a large financial commitment (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*). Nevertheless, there was no evidence within the data collected to indicate who financed the fund or the extent of the success or failure of this financial support.

The government, however, had decided to let the widows and orphans of labourers who died in Siam remained on the estates where they belonged, pending formulation of a more permanent maintenance scheme. Many estates, for instance, accorded generous treatment to such persons, helping the needy with food and clothing, and providing employment wherever possible. In handling this issue, voluntary agencies had worked with the government to help the estate people (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*).

Figure 7.1 compares the number of dependants receiving relief grant from the government of Malaya in 1946 and there in 1948. There was a marked increase of 29.9 per cent in the number of orphans with living mothers received relief in 1948. The number of orphans whose both parents passed away also showed a substantial increase of 21.8 per cent in 1948. Interestingly, the number of orphans receiving relief in 1948 was 13,563 compared to 10,608 orphans receiving relief in 1946, a significant increase of 27.9 per cent in just two years. Another emerging issue is that these figures seem to suggest considerable attention was given to the orphans within those two years,

considering that out of 17,939 dependants granted relief, 10,608 were orphans, constituting some 59.1 per cent of the total dependants granted relief in 1946. Likewise, 61.1 per cent of 22,211 dependants receiving relief in 1948 were orphans.

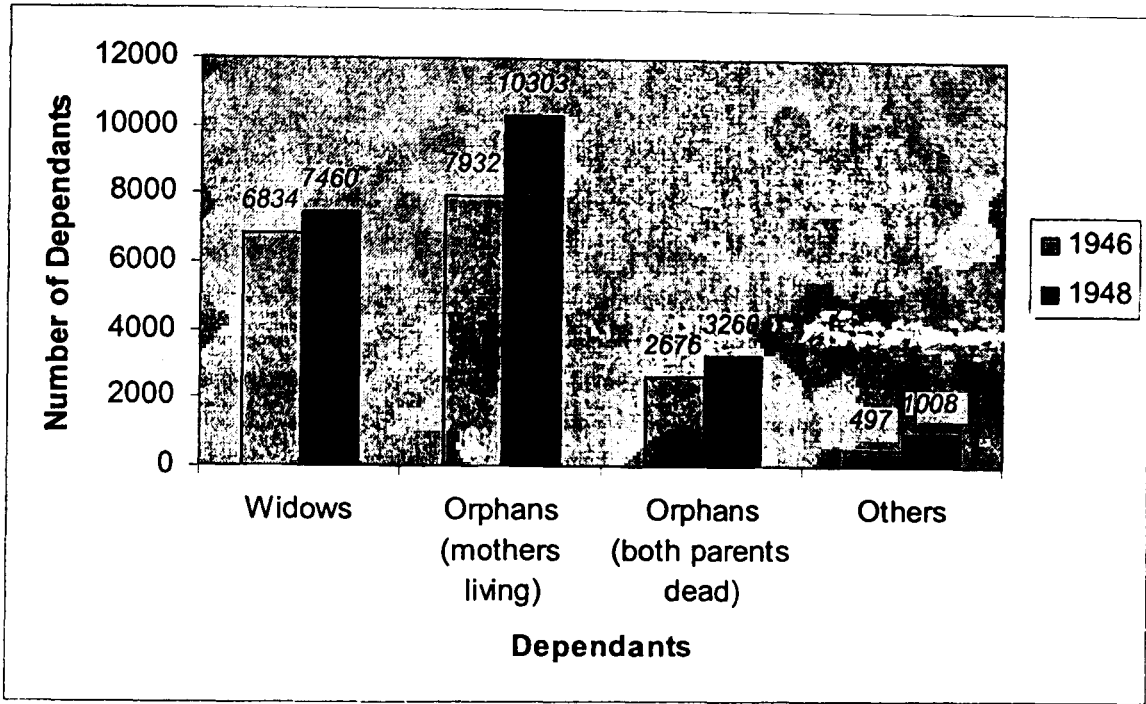


Figure 7.1: Number of dependants granted relief in 1946 and 1948
Sources: P/KEB1 DSWAR 1946, DSWAR 1948

It is unavoidable to discuss the issue of widows when discussing issues of orphans because the data collected have mostly discussed these two groups together. This study revealed that several thousand persons within the categories of widows and orphans were in need of government aid. The issue for the government then was deciding the best method of care for such persons, bearing in mind the economic need to create new buildings and the undesirability of placing persons in institutions if alternative arrangements could be made. After the British re-occupation of Malaya, institutional relief care was the only solution to the problem of large numbers of

homeless destitute, who were mainly old people without supporting relatives. The DSW welfare homes housed several temporary or permanent destitute and homeless inhabitants such as widows with their children, lepers, cripples, and mental patients who were not a danger to themselves or other people (Jones, 1958). Chapter 8 will cover services of institutional care for the children.

Many widows with large families were unable to buy basic rations and pay their rent. Some of the families were reported to be sleeping in small spaces under stairways, in cubicles in town dwellings, or in the corners of rooms lent by the generosity of friends. Some widows, who had lost their husbands and their eldest male children as their wage earners, were forced to earn a few cents daily by hawking or sending their children out on the streets to beg. Since the police had ruthlessly started to clear the streets of these children and of hawkers, the widows and their families suffered severe hardship (SS 510/47).

The conditions faced by these widows had affected the children, including their education. In some cases, these widows had to use their small cash relief grants to pay school fees and to buy books to enable their children to obtain education. The widows' ultimate hope was that these children would be able to support their families in the future. For example, many Malay women tried to supplement their cash relief by selling savouries, such as eggs or vegetables, which were produced in *kampongs*. Chinese boys and girls of eight to twelve years did odd jobs and even occasionally embarked on heavier ones to earn just a few cents to supplement the family income. The Indian population, on the other hand, were mainly cared for by estates managers (SS 540/48).

It can be said that there were widows and large families without proper food and they were suffering from malnutrition.

Malnutrition

Following the liberation of Malaya in September 1945, a considerable degree of malnutrition was widespread amongst the population. Many widows mixed flour with tapioca, and consumed this with vegetables that they managed to grow for their own consumption. For example, out of 50 cases, only five had fish or meat with a meal (SS 540/48).

When dealing with malnutrition issue, new ideas from the colonial government had emerged in terms of how to distribute food supplies around the country. The government had applied the British concept of restaurant, that is, canteen, to feed the people.² The establishment of public restaurants was a remarkable means of providing food for the public, with a well-balanced meal at a reasonable price, and thus, helped to combat the high cost of living, particularly in towns. By the end of 1947, the restaurants were considered an essential part of a feeding campaign designed to combat the more serious effects of malnutrition (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1947). They were also used in cases of relief when people were left homeless by flood or fire. Additionally, these public restaurants were used to feed the destitute, refugees in transit, and others in need of assistance (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1947). In other words, in a sense, the colonial government had imposed their experience in dealing with malnutrition within Malaya. However, it

² The canteen was originally intended to provide meals for government servants and employees of sponsored firms only (SS 409/45) such as the Victory Canteen, situated at Batu Road, Kuala Lumpur. The DSW organised 18 such restaurants throughout the Union by the end of 1946. They had increased to 21 in 1947.

should be pointed out that the public restaurant scheme was a specifically wartime initiative in Britain. "British Restaurants" as they were called, did not exist either before or after the Second World War.

During the British Military Administration (BMA) period, a Nutrition Unit was organised and made fairly extensive nutritional surveys of several different classes of the population in the more accessible regions. However, this unit was only in existence for six months. During the earlier half of 1946, over 1,600 persons, consisting mostly of school children, were fully examined by Medical Officers in different parts of the country (P/SUMU2 *MUAR* 1946). Children were amongst the most noticeable since most of them were undersized (ADM 2/9). As a result, principally in larger towns, supplementary foodstuffs were distributed to needy groups during the remainder of the year by the BMA, the Red Cross, and other voluntary organisations. These distributions of supplementary foodstuffs were also started in other parts of the colonial empire and were already well in hand in certain parts of the Far Eastern colonial territories (ADM 2/9).

With the resumption of civil administration in April 1946, steps were taken to continue the provision of relief foodstuffs to improve nutrition of needy children. It was also one of the most necessary steps towards improving the health of school children in Malaya. The work was carried out in co-operation with the Education Department authorities, the District Officer (DO), and the Medical Department. Whilst the Education Department was responsible for the distribution of food, the Medical Department advised on the kind of food that should be provided and the places where the need was greatest. Funds were provided by the government to enable state

authorities to purchase foodstuffs for distribution to school children. The Resident Commissioner controlled the expenditure, and delegated the details of supervision to the district. The purpose of this feeding was to supply a light, nutritious meal to children during school hours.

The sort of meal which the Senior Nutrition Officer recommended was one made on the following lines:

1. Cereals (such as rice, oatmeal or wheat flour)	- 2 ½ ozs
2. Peas, beans, peanuts or other	- ½ ozs
3. Fish (preferably of the anchovies type)	- ½ ozs
4. Vegetables (preferably of the green leafy variety)	- 1 ozs
5. Oil (coconut oil) with a little Red Palm oil added	- ½ ozs
6. Salt	- as required (RCK 794)

Even though this is only an example and could be modified provided that the food value was not materially altered (RCK 794), it confirms that varieties of nutritious food were given to children during school hours and an attempt to provide a well-balanced daily meal diet was made. The schemes, however, were adapted to the needs of each place and to the facilities available.

During the latter part of 1946 and in 1947, following the Senior Nutrition Officer's advice, dried milk was purchased by the Medical Department and distributed to schools by the State Education Authorities. In some places, the supplementary feed was in the form of milk, milk and biscuits, or milk and cocoa mixtures (RCK 794). For the most part, the type of food provided for the schools was skimmed milk with cocoa. In a few places, provision was made for cooked meals.

The procedure in dealing with supply of milk and other foodstuffs varied in different parts of Malaya. In at least one state, the task of keeping stocks of milk powder, accounting for, and distributing to schools was conducted by the Medical Department. In other places, the distribution was undertaken by the staff of the Education Department. In both cases, the stocks were purchased through the Senior Nutrition Officer at the Institute for Medical Research (SS 159/46). It can be said that the milk scheme was not constructively administered because no standardised procedures were being practiced by each state. In the latter years, some states did not take full advantage of the opportunities that were offered by this scheme due to administrative difficulties (RCK 794).

Whilst the initial intention was to provide a half pint of milk daily to as many schoolchildren as possible in the country, it was soon discovered that attention would also have to be paid to other groups of children such as pre-school children, children who did not attend school, as well as infants. It was evident that the value of expert care and advice provided for infants at infant welfare centres, which will be discussed later, would have been greatly enhanced if such care had continued to be given prior to the child being old enough to attend school. Due to shortage of fresh milk, children over 18 months were given imported, dried full-cream or skimmed milk, for those to whom the taste was alien, cocoa was added in a very small quantity. In addition, they were given fat, and fat-soluble vitamins which were supplied from other sources such as food yeast biscuits. These biscuits containing riboflavin, a member of the "vitamin B" group, in which many children were deficient, were very popular and comparatively easy to distribute (CO 997/16).

In some areas, milk meals for non-school children were issued from the provision made by the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) (P/PM3 *FMAR 1951*). The United Nations was asked to send food for thousands of children in Malaya. Two Chinese schools in Selangor, Yuk Chee in Klang Road and Kum Ching Girls School claimed to have 100 and 78 undernourished children, respectively (SS 159/46). A similar number was given for the Malay school at Batu Village. However, the DSW could not feed these children because school meals were entirely a matter of the Education Department. The DSW, however, felt that it could not stand by and do nothing; thus it enlisted the aid of UNICEF (SS 159/46). Accordingly, it was suggested that a small number of food centres be started in each state. Although the steps taken were essentially increased, the more important thing was adequate supervision and management from the Nutrition Officer. As earlier discussion has shown, the School Feeding Scheme was transferred entirely from the DSW to the Education and Medical Authorities (CO 997/16; P/PM3 *FMAR 1953*).

In the state of Selangor, mostly in rural parts of all districts, free meals and milk for children were given until 1950. The meals were supplied to children in selected schools, in places where facilities were available, and where the health of the children was considered to be in need of extra nutrition. Nearly 4,325 children received supplementary meals in all districts. In the district of Klang, for instance, about 1,125 children in seven Malay schools were supplied with cooked meals every school day. The type of food supplied to children in other districts was composed of skimmed milk powder, cocoa, biscuits and sugar. The feeding as a whole was reported to make great improvements in the general health and in the physical and mental conditions of the

children receiving the meals, and suggestions were received to extend the supply to additional schools in certain districts.

Indeed, the success of this scheme was due to active cooperation of the DO, the Head Teachers, the Settlement Officer and, the Supervisor of the Child Feeding Scheme.³ The executive aspect of this work was carried out by the Medical Department (SS 159/46). However, the idea of general milk feeding for all school children was abandoned in 1949 due to financial reasons. Where practicable, the feeding schemes in designated places were in the form of cooked meals, and supplementary meals of milk, or milk, cocoa and biscuits were used instead. As a guiding principle, meals or supplementary feeding was given in areas where the need was greater, rather than on a basis of a pro rata allocation to states.

In general, these schemes were applied to the benefit of Malay children in selected rural areas, who were in needy circumstances. Preference was given to families of smallholders, children of squatters, and fishermen. Children on estates were specifically excluded from this scheme (SS 159/46) probably because, as stated in the Labour Code, it was the responsibility of the employers to provide free “milk and rice” at employer’s own expense. Evidence that the Malays benefited most was confirmed by all three departments that attended the meeting at the office of CSWO.⁴ It could be said that the colonial government’s view of good nutrition during the earlier years of childhood was of the greatest value in helping the Malays compete on level terms with other community groups.

³ This letter was written by the State Medical and Health Officer of Selangor.

⁴ Minutes of Meeting at the office of CSWO, attended by the Director of Education, CSWO, Director of Medical Services and Senior Nutrition Officer (SS 159/46).

The feeding during 1952 was maintained in thirty selected schools: twenty-seven Malay schools, two Tamil schools, and one English school. In all, 5560 children received meals in all districts. As a result of the feeding, the children's general health showed marked improvements, as indicated by an increase in weight and disappearance of skin diseases (SS 159/46). The feeding was reported to make great improvement to the general health and the physical and mental conditions of the children receiving the meals. Interestingly, some poor children in certain places attended schools regularly just to receive a free meal.

As stated earlier, because of financial difficulties the scheme faced in 1949 and again in 1953, general provision of free meals in all schools was regarded as impracticable. In fact, the Deputy Controller of Finance and Accounts, Colonel F.S. McFadzean, stated from the beginning that the provision would be terminated when conditions returned to normal. As such, the scheme was a temporary and an emergency measure to remedy the effects of malnutrition that had prevailed under the Japanese occupation (BMA 'A' 371). However, the government was not against school feeding schemes in the long run if the cost could be met by local community through some education rate imposed and collected by local education authority (SS 159/46).

Indeed, the welfare provision of feeding children introduced an entirely new diet to Malayan children. Milk, for instance was not only expensive (Manderson, 1982) but it could have caused some problems in digestion and absorption among local children. Even though milk was not part of a traditional diet for most of Malayan people, widespread provision of milk was made by post-war welfare administration on the assumption that 'milk is one of the ideal foods' (BMA 'A' 371) for children. In fact,

milk, either full cream or skimmed powder, which had to be imported, was rather expensive. Even if the scheme could have been extended during the latter part of 1947, a number of difficulties arose both in obtaining adequate supplies of suitable foodstuffs, particularly milk, which was in short supply throughout the world, and in the distribution of supplies throughout the country (BMA 'A' 371).⁵

The study has revealed that a new form of welfare system was put into place with an extremely efficient provision of foodstuffs such as cocoa to schoolchildren. This too was striking in the history of colonial administration which had claimed to take into account local knowledge. The colonial government managed indigenous and foreign provisions efficiently over a large territory. It seemed to have delivered a good system, even though it might have been inappropriate to give cocoa, an “alien food”, to the children because they were used to consume rice, which was the staple food of Malaya.

The above discussion revealed the British government's actions in dealing with issues of orphans and malnutrition in Malaya by introducing the Burma-Siam relief scheme, public restaurants scheme and the milk scheme. The following section will discuss other important welfare services provided by the government during the period of 1946-1957.

Services Provided by the DSW

Jones (1958), who studied services provided by government agencies, including the DSW, gave some idea about the people who were cared for in Malaya. According to her, they were:

⁵ Supplies of milk were obtained from the local depots of the Anglo-Swiss Milk Company.

- i. Children who lack a normal home background; neglected, abandoned or cruelly treated children.
- ii. The physically and mentally handicapped.
- iii. The chronically sick or chronically unemployed, including beggars.
- iv. Old people, if homeless, in financial need, or incapacitated by reasons of age.
- v. Persons on probation, juvenile offenders and discharged prisoners.
- vi. Small communities in special need, such as those in under-developed areas, aborigine communities, and those which have suffered sudden disaster, such as flood or fire.

(Jones, 1958: 11)

Table 7.1 indicates some of the major services which reflect social welfare policy in Malaya in terms of activities and duties that were introduced by the British Colonial Government through the DSW between the years 1946 and 1960. It clearly shows that the progression of welfare provision did not cover the larger population in Malaya. The services were provided only on *ad hoc* basis or when they were very much needed, especially immediately after the war (1946-1950) when the focus was more on introducing emergency programmes such as the Burma-Siam relief scheme, to help war victims.

It should be pointed out that more serious efforts were undertaken to establish a section solely for children in the DSW only when the circumstances as a result of war began to ease, that is, Children's Services as discussed in Chapter 5. However, currently, not all children related services are in existence in Malaysia because those that were provided as direct consequences of the war are no longer relevant and therefore have been terminated, for example, malnutrition, and public restaurant. One of the services that exist today is children's homes (see Chapter 8).

Year	Activities Introduced
1946	Burma/Siam relief scheme (terminated 1971) Refugees and displaced persons branch / relief camp Public restaurants (terminated 1952) Institutions for orphans, widows, aged, infirm and decrepit Women's and girls' protection (mui tsai)
1947	Approved schools – probation service Crèches / child welfare centre Welfare of the aborigines (terminated 1949) Welfare of the aged Welfare of the blind Welfare for TB dependants Welfare for leper dependants Family disputes Immigration Malnutrition relief scheme
1948	Juvenile
1951	Repatriation of detainees (terminated 1959) Youth welfare (terminated 1964)
1952	Children's welfare Aid to dependants of detainees
1960	Welfare of the disabled (incorporating the welfare of the blind)

Table 7.1: The growth of welfare services in terms of activities and duties / functions (1946-1960)
Sources: Abdullah, 1979, 1992; P/KEB1 DSWAR 1946, DSWAR 1947, DSWAR 1948.

Crèches and infant/child welfare centres

Child care was an obvious and apparent welfare issue during the post-war period, particularly when both parents were working. The increasing number of crèches and nurseries showed that there was a growing interest in colonial territories in the care and welfare of the child of pre-school age (CO 859/225/4). British civil servants and social workers who had experience in working in child care and welfare situations after the

War brought with them ideas and knowledge necessary to address child care issues and methods of coping and adopting them to Malayan situations.

One of those concerned with essential facilities for the welfare of young children was Dr Soo Kim Lan.⁶ Her memorandum recommended that in every welfare centre or sub-centre a special section be formed to care for young children of labour classes of all nationalities during their working hours. She recommended that the children be fed and, if necessary, be washed, clothed or rendered medical aid. Arrangements were also made for these children to be left at certain suitable centres in the morning so that parents or guardians could collect them in the afternoon after their day's work. Dr. Soo observed that, while parents or guardians were away at work, very young children were either left alone or in the care of very old and helpless people at home. 'Due to poverty, neglect and ignorance on the part of their parents, these children suffer the most from under-nourishment, worms, skin diseases and bowel disturbances' (SUKT 388/46). She further stressed her view:

I am confident that if this special section is established, there will be a vast improvement in the condition of labour in this country, for if their children are being properly cared for, more men and women will devote their time and energy to their work...

(SUKT 388/46)

⁶ O.B.E; MU Advisory Council from Central Welfare Council (CWC) 2/4/1947 Eight Meeting - the memorandum had been circulated in the Draft Agenda of the Minutes of Meeting of the CWC on 3/7/1946 (SUKT 388/46).

Perhaps, in supporting this issue, the Commissioner of Labour pointed out that under the Labour Code employers who had more than 50 women were obliged to provide, at the employer's own expense,⁷ nurseries for each infant under the age of three.

Accordingly, local welfare committees were asked to investigate the need for and estimated cost of each crèche in their respective areas (SUKT 388/46). It was recommended that the nurseries be run on simple lines and with voluntary help to avoid overhead expenses in the form of paid staff, rent and so forth (SUKT 388/46). These recommendations by the Labour Department and the Co-operative Department were followed by large estates to ensure general improvement of the health of women and young children. Estate managers were also encouraged to provide welfare clinics for women and children. In particular, the Labour Department, in cooperation with the Medical Department, stressed the importance of better diet including soya bean flour and red palm oil. Recipes and cooking demonstrations were also provided (ADM/2/9).

The Kota Bharu Nursery in Kelantan, which was run by the Health Department, was located in the upstairs floor of the Infant Welfare Clinic, situated in a shop-house in town. The Central Welfare Council (CWC) gave an allowance of M\$100⁸ per month for the running of this nursery, which opened every day. A few mothers who went out to work left their children at the nursery. Undernourished children who attended the Infant Welfare Clinic were encouraged to attend the nursery daily for extra feeding. However, it was more convenient and economical to supply food and extras from the State Hospital. Thus, the food was prepared at this hospital and sent to the nursery daily.

⁷ The CYWSC, in their Second Meeting on 24/5/1950, also suggested that the Labour Department might be asked for clarification of that point, if there was a penalty for non-compliance with this section (CO 859/225/2).

⁸ From 1947 to 1974, M\$3.00 was equal to about US\$1.00 (Andaya and Andaya, 2001).

Additionally, the children's clothing was made out of old clothing supplied by the DSW, whereas cots, bedding and other utensils were supplied by the Medical Department (SS 224/48). All these activities provide evidence to support the view that the government, through joined cooperation among its departments, was giving appropriate attention and care to sustain the well-being of children in Malaya.

While working together with the Medical Department, the authorities took action to provide sufficient social services to children in urban, as well as rural areas. In most large villages and all main towns, Infant Welfare Centres were available where mothers were told about the best methods of feeding and looking after babies (Middlebrook and Pinnick, 1949).⁹ Periodic visits were paid by the staff, such as lady medical officers, health sisters, and nurses, to the surrounding districts according to a weekly timetable. In smaller towns and villages, there were centres with a nurse or midwife in charge.

A typical small health centre had a resident nurse and midwife and was adjacent to a dispensary. The work done in these centres inevitably included a good deal of treatment of minor ailments in children and their mothers, but the ideal was to make it, as far as possible, educational. Attendance at Infant Welfare Centres was over 320,000. Apart from this, over 112,000 mothers and children were visited in their homes (P/SUMU2 MUAR 1946). Interestingly, the total attendance to welfare centres increased in 1949 to 583,755. Likewise, in the same year, the number of visits paid to mothers and children in their homes significantly increased to 245,003 (FS 13580/49). These figures undoubtedly show that the government's action towards providing services to

⁹ The CYWSC in their Second Meeting on 24/5/1950 also asked for clarification about the number of Infant Welfare Centres in the towns and villages of Malaya.

children received support from both urban and rural parents. In this context, it seems that the government was successful in implementing its child welfare programme.

Blind welfare

Blind welfare by private voluntary effort was perhaps more successful than the efforts of the government, probably because different governmental departments were interested in different aspects of welfare for the blind. The government needed the support of voluntary organisations in handling blind welfare and pointed out that through assistance from the government and combined support from voluntary organisations the best results could be achieved (RC 228/46).

The care of the blind attracted the sympathetic attention of the Central Welfare Council (CWC) of Malaya. As a result, a survey of blind persons in every state and settlement was initiated by the CWC in October 1946. Sir Clutha Mackenzie, Chairman of the St. Dunstan's Home for Indian War Blinded at Dehra Dun, wrote to the government to suggest the employment of a Welfare Officer for the Blind (WOB). At a subsequent meeting, the CWC undertook the financial responsibility for appointing Major Bridges (PS 77/49), who was himself blind, as the first WOB (P/SUMU2 MUAR 1946).

The first task undertaken by Major Bridges was to gather information to produce a report and make recommendations on blindness in Malaya. The CWC provided information on the numbers of blind people in various states from lists made in conjunction with the DSW when paying relief to the blind. These figures, together with figures of the blind in various homes and institutions run by the DSW, enabled the

WOB to make a reasonable estimate of the numbers of the blind and partially blind in Malaya. In 1947, the WOB investigated, planned, and prepared for the organised development of blind welfare services (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1947*) and toured most of Malaya to obtain first hand impressions of the country, and of the standards of living in towns and rural districts (P/SUMU2 *MUAR 1947*).

Major Bridges intended to form a committee to design a Braille code in three main languages - Malay, Mandarin, and Tamil - based on International Braille to facilitate the learning of English Braille for advanced education and training for employment (P/SUMU2 *MUAR 1946*). Accordingly, the Council on Blindness was set up to initiate schemes for the welfare of the blind in 1948. The immediate task of the council was to formulate future policy on blind welfare and to appoint a Braille committee to design a Braille code in each language spoken by the Malay, Chinese and Indian communities. This designing of the Braille code for three different languages indicated that, the council made an attempt to take into consideration the complexity of multi-ethnic satisfaction and requirements.

The report by this council showed that the proportion of blind children in Malaya was more than five times greater than in Britain. Approximately 12,000 totally or partially blind were accounted for, and 200 children requiring schooling and 400 persons requiring employment needed specialised help from the Blind Welfare Organisation (*The Malay Mail*, 27/4/1948; SS 1294/47).

Through assistance of the state authorities of Johore, the Princess Elizabeth School for Blind Children was established, a residential school with provision for day pupils, at the State Welfare Home, Johore Bahru (P/PM3 *FMAR 1952*). Its curriculum

was similar to that used in government primary schools. Parents needed to pay fees (SS 1294/47). Forty-two children of school age were accommodated in 1952 and the number increased to seventy-five children a few years later (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1952). Later, in 1955, the Gurney Centre was opened to provide training in semi-skilled trades (Jones, 1958) and took in about fifty students. Four full-time and two part-time teachers were employed, and the school was maintained by the government (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1952).

The only document on blind welfare published by the government was White Paper No.9 of 1948, which was tabled at the meeting of the Legislative Council on 27 April 1948. It was the report on and recommendations for blindness in Malaya by Dr Bridges, WOB. It contained a statement on the position of the blind in Malaya, but the conclusions reached, together with certain recommendations, did not include a detailed scheme (SS 1294/47). No financial responsibility for the welfare of the blind was allocated. However, it suggested (SS 1294/47) that philanthropic funds should shoulder the capital cost of building Blind Welfare Units after-care, placement in employment, “home visiting” and the like. On the other hand, it noted that the government should provide for annually recurrent expenditure for the maintenance of Blind Units, such as school and trade training centres, as well as care for the aged, destitute, and physically and mentally handicapped blind persons (SS 1294/47).

The Blind Section of the State Welfare Home, in Johore Bahru created considerable local interest, resulting in the state authorities’ willingness to allocate a site in Johore for a school. This school was built on a cottage plan (see Chapter 8). The living quarters for the blind children were cottages, housing about eight children each.

The small units had many advantages over large institutions which usually consisted of barrack-like buildings with big dormitories and a central dining hall. The cottages made it possible to obtain harmony within a simulated family group that resembled normal living conditions. Thus, the child could express his or her individuality. The design was flexible, and lent itself to co-ordinated expansion. The large dormitories, in contrast, bore no resemblance to normal living conditions and could neither be easily expanded or broken down. Moreover, the child became regimented and rigid. The cost of building was out of all proportion to its value to the blind, and little or no repair work could be done by the children (SS 1294/47).

Delinquent children

The Child and Youth Welfare Sub-Committee (CYWSC) understood that the issue of delinquency, while evident in most colonies was not as acute as it was in the UK. All the Southeast Asian colonies were aware of the problem and took active steps to deal with it. The CYWSC noted this fact and recommended steps for the treatment of delinquency and for the establishment of an efficient probation service. However, they pointed out that the implementation of their previous recommendations on the care of children and young people would considerably lessen the incidence of delinquency (CO 859/225/3).

In the Far Eastern colonial territories, the law made special provision for delinquents or neglected children. In Hong Kong, for example, the police normally referred any delinquents to the Secretariat for Chinese Affairs, which attempted to prevent delinquency and care for the potential delinquent. A Chinese Committee of

well-known citizens advised on individual cases. In Malaya, Children's Ordinances protected children against ill treatment. Ordinances empowered magistrates to send delinquents to suitable schools. No probation system was in operation in Malaya then, but, in 1941, legislation was passed in the Federated Malay States (FMS) providing for the institution of a probation service. Additionally, similar legislation was under consideration in the Strait Settlements. A feature that was noticeable in the records of court awards in Malaya was the ingenuity exercised in passing an appropriate sentence on young offenders.

Dr Rawson, who was proud of the work and experience in the Homes such as Serendah Boys' School, stressed that the DSW was 'in a position to complete a system for the care of adolescents in Malaya second to none in the Far East' (SS 510/47). Three types of Approved School were set up, namely the Junior Approved School, the Senior Approved School and the Camp School. The Junior Approved School took boys from seven years of age up to twelve years; the Senior Approved School took boys from twelve to fourteen years of age, and the Camp School received juniors below eleven years of age.

The Junior Approved School at Taiping, opened in 1 February 1947, was the first Approved School in Malaya. When opened, only three boys were admitted, but, within three months, there were over thirty boys. At the end of the year, 134 boys received education and training and were being helped towards a better way of life (P/SUMU2 *MUAR* 1947). During the year, the school improved the building of the classrooms and workshops, renovated staff quarters and improved the playing field (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1950).

A Senior Approved School was set up at Sungei Buloh (P/PM3 *FMAR 1950*). The first camp school, Telok Ayer Tawar Camp School, was opened on January 1950 in Province Wellesley, Penang. This Camp School, again of the cottage type, was for both boy and girl juniors under eleven years of age who had appeared before the Juvenile Courts (P/PM3 *FMAR 1950*).

Dr Rawson questioned the suitability of mixing boys in need of care and protection with delinquents. He also claimed that Approved Schools in Malaya was another name for Borstal in Britain, because the government put young prisoners who were not suitable for the Approved School System there into the Borstal Institution. These Borstal institutions were built to train and develop boys and young criminals into reliable individuals later in life.

Repatriation of detainees

The DSW dealt with some 6,000 cases and prepared some 4,000 women and children dependants of detainees for repatriation to China, India and Indonesia. The Department usually arranged their accommodation, feeding and transfer to the Social Welfare Camp at Morib in Negeri Sembilan.¹⁰ Dependants from other states of the Federation were met at the railway station, directed to Kuala Lumpur by rail and transferred to Morib (Negeri Sembilan) by either departmental or public transport. Table 7.2 presents the number of Chinese and Indian children of detainees that were received at the railway or bus station from the various states of the Federation during the year 1949 (SS 795/49). In 1949 alone, there were 1,445 children taken care of by the Department.

¹⁰ The camp school at Morib, Negeri Sembilan was occupied by women and children dependants of detainees (P/PM3 *FMAR 1950*).

Month	Number of children
March	186
April	74
June	185
July	320
August	300
September	206
October	68
November	91
December	15
Total	1445

Table 7.2: Children of detainees in 1949 (DSW Selangor)
Source: SS 795/49

The Sentul Welfare Home in Kuala Lumpur was used as a staging camp for families on their way to Morib Welfare Camp. They were looked after until they could join their husbands. The Police, Chinese Affairs, and DO also assisted the welfare officer considerably in the work of reuniting families from all parts of Malaya.

The homes of the dependants of detainees were also visited with a view to arrange for the dependants to be repatriated to China together with the detainees (SS 795/49). While waiting to be sent to detention camps, children were accommodated at the Selangor Children’s Home since their relatives were too poor to care for them (SS 795/49). Some parents were accompanied by their children under 12 years old in the detention camp. They were reluctant to hand their children over to the care of relatives or friends outside (PS 292/50). Children, lost or deserted, were traced by the DSW and returned to their parents or placed in welfare homes (P/PM3 *FMAR 1951*). All these steps highlighted above indicate that relief measures for the dependents, including children of detainees, were dealt with by the government.

Vagrancy

There were few beggars in Malaya before 1942, but their numbers dramatically increased during the post-war period (DSW 1955). From November 1954 to March 1955, the DSW carried out a pilot survey of beggars in the Federation of Malaya and cross-checks showed that there was virtually no intentional lying among these beggars. The report estimated that the number of beggars was between 734 and 832 in 1954 and 1955. Out of 59 beggars who were widows, 27 had dependants, usually small children (DSW 1955).¹¹ The report also stated reasons for their existence and offered easy solutions to this social problem. This detailed and factual report provided the Federal and State Settlement Government with reliable information necessary for framing realistic and constructive policies (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1955).

Although it was a common complaint amongst the public that there were many children beggars, however, according to the survey, not many were traced. Altogether five boys were found begging on streets and it was 'most unlikely that these boys were homeless because they looked quite well fed' (DSW 1955). The report also stated that 'there [were] beggars who sometimes [took] their children with them on begging expeditions' (DSW 1955).

Despite the fact that there was no serious beggar problem as far as children were concerned, children of vagrants brought by the police to the SWO were sent to children's homes. Parents of these children were asked to produce guarantors that the

¹¹ It was estimated that the survey covered over 90 per cent of the "professional" and "amateur" beggars, and at least 50 per cent of the "casuals". There were 734 beggars in rural as well as urban areas interviewed all over the country. The survey was under the charge of an experienced officer who could speak Malay, Mandarin and English with the help of social workers from major ethnic groups.

children would not be involved in begging again. When guarantors were produced, the children were released from the homes (SS 499/49).

Dr Rawson reported that until 1950 there were no vagrant homes for boys in Malaya because of the absence of regularised legislation for vagrants (SS 912/50). Dr Rawson also stated that it was impossible to admit any boy to Sungei Buloh or Taiping Home without the order of the Juvenile Court or that of a magistrate's recommendation for Approved School treatment for a period of not less than two years (SS 912/50).

Children of prisoners

An increase in the number of female prisoners in the Federation was partly because of the Emergency. The DSW was able to help the Commissioner of Prisons in this matter by arranging for the children of female prisoners to be placed with relatives or in suitable homes for the duration of the mothers' sentence (P/PM3 FMAR 1952).

One case involved a Chinese woman sent to prison for six months. She wanted to bring along her two children aged four years and three years to the prison since her husband had gone to Taiping, Perak to look for employment. The Prison Authorities did not allow the children to go with her but instead placed them in the care of the DSW of Penang. Nevertheless, these children were handed over to the father when he turned up about a week later (PS 292/50).

Leper settlement

The largest institution for the care of lepers was the Sungei Buloh Leper Settlement in Selangor (CO 859/225/3). In 1950, the settlement had around 3,500 patients, a 500-bed

hospital for acute cases, and two villages for convalescent or chronic cases. If children were born to a leper couple, they were removed to a children's home run by the DSW at about the age of twelve months because, although the disease was not hereditary, it was believed to be highly contagious to those under-five years (Jones, 1958; EWO 3, 2003). The government was responsible for these children, and the committee's work in helping ex-lepers was recognized (SS 912/50). For instance, the DSW of Penang reported that in the Pulau Jerejak Leper Settlement in Penang, a six months-old baby of leper parents had been admitted into the Penang Convent Orphanage (PS 292/50).

Dr Molesworth, Superintendent of the Sungei Buloh Leper Settlement, reported that there were a number of children who should not have been in their settlement; children who had recovered from leprosy after treatment, and the children of parents brought in with leprosy. Although the children in the latter case had no signs of the disease, the CYWSC was informed that contaminated children continued to live with their family in the Settlements since no alternative homes were available (CO 859/225/3). Naturally, the situation was urgent, owing to the risk of infection if they remained (SS 84/49). The CYWSC understood that in some cases there was a separate home for healthy children, while in others, healthy children were removed from the settlement altogether and placed with healthy families (CO 859/225/3).

Resettlement

As discussed in Chapter 4, Malaya's government found itself faced with the challenge of Communist guerrillas during the 1950s. The government handled the difficult problem of breaking contact between the communists and the "squatters" – the Chinese

who lived in jungle fringes or isolated areas and were most vulnerable to being influenced by the communist. The Briggs plan called for the relocation of more than 500,000 Chinese squatters. In 1951, 429 new villages were completed, and 509 in 1952. A total population of 385,000 men, women and children, or 79,000 families, were relocated (P/PM3 *FMAR 1951*). By the end of 1952, the majority of the scattered groups of squatters had been brought together in the new villages, and the task of settling them into their new homes had been largely completed by the end of 1953 (P/PM3 *FMAR 1953*). The relocation plan altered the living conditions of the squatters and also affected their children's welfare, as they were able to benefit from the services provided by the government.

In addition to these measures, missionaries and various voluntary organisations such as the Red Cross, the St. John Ambulance Brigade, the Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides continued to work alongside the government (P/PM3 *FMAR 1952*). The morale of resettled squatters' improved as village loyalty grew, and as the Home Guard organisation spread. Consequently, an increasing desire for self-defence and determination to resist the communists was being cultivated. The terrorists soon turned away to the deep jungle as food and information became more difficult to obtain. It became clear that the Security Forces initiative to resettle the squatters was successful (P/PM3 *FMAR 1953*).

Immigration

Immigration applications from Chinese women and children in moral or other danger were referred by the Controller of Immigration to the CSWO who then referred the

cases to the welfare officer of the state concerned. A personal visit was made by the investigator to the home of the applicant and reports on the economic position of the household, the immigrant's exact status, relationship between the members of the applicant's family, and the intending immigrant were checked. Their relatives or guardians in China and proposed escort to Malaya would also be assessed (SS 795/49). For instance, the DSW Singapore reported the names of ten boys and girls, aged between three to nineteen years, arriving from China during October 1949 to the DSW of Selangor. The purpose of the report was to ensure that their arrivals were under the care and support of proper guardians who would be responsible for their conduct and welfare (SS 795/49).

Discussion

The Burma-Siam Railway had not only affected the lives of the Chinese but also the Indians. The Indian widows and orphans in the estates were allowed to remain in the estates until practical steps to resolve the issues were reached. To help ease their sufferings, the voluntary agencies had aided the government to provide relief to them.

The study has shown that malnutrition was a prominent issue and many of the Malayan children were undernourished as the result of the war. The government had taken measures to resolve this issue, such as the free meal and the milk scheme. As the study had revealed, these feeding schemes had benefited the children of the Malays more. The other measure to resolve the malnutrition issue was imposing the idea of setting up public restaurants, which had gained popularity among the Malayan people.

The study has also shown that voluntary agencies, for example the CWC, local welfare committees, and other government agencies, such as Medical Department, Education Department and Health Department aided the works of the DSW. These agencies had helped the DSW to resolve issues of crèches and nurseries. Thus, it can be said that, despite the fact that some of the welfare works overlapped, inter-departments cooperation had existed.

In other issues, such as services for the blind, the works of voluntary agencies, such as the CWC, was more prominent. Other voluntary agencies, for example Red Cross, St. John Ambulance, Boys Scouts and Girl Guides work alongside the government with the resettlement of Chinese squatters.

Thus far, the study has pointed out the interplay that existed in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957 on the children welfare provision. Although the government exhibited effort in implementing social services, its attempts were not initially well received. A reason for this cold reception was probably because the colonial government had failed to fully understand or accept the Malayan people's social values particularly among the Malays. Seemingly the government had failed to understand that religion was very important to the Malays. The Malays were very obedient towards the teachings of Islam, which to them were closely related to all aspects of their everyday lives. In other words, their way of lives was very much dictated by the teachings of Islam.

In its efforts to ensure the success of child welfare principle and programme, sometimes the government failed to conduct research with regard to beliefs, cultures and values of the Malayan people before implementing any welfare services. An

example is the case of ‘collecting of orphans’ (SUKT 317/46) and destitution among the people in Terengganu. At first, it was not easy for the welfare officers to provide services, such as ‘tinned meat and accommodation in the destitute home and orphanage’ (SUKT 317/46), that were introduced to the local people in the villages. Based on religious grounds (Islam), the villagers initially showed some sort of objection towards this new arrangement because the tinned meat had come from cows that were not slaughtered according to *syaria*’ (Islamic law). However, due to the emergency need of food for survival, as allowed by Islam,¹² the work gradually become easier as they accepted assistance.

Conclusion

The chapter has discussed the primary services provided by the DSW for war victims, including the vulnerable categories of the population, that is, children from the three major ethnic groups. The chapter has shown that Malaya’s case, with the presence of the three main ethnic groups, was rather unique compared to other British colonies because no other colonies were comprised of such ethnic composition. As highlighted in Chapter 5, each ethnic group relied on its own ways in dealing with welfare issues. The colonial administrators responded to the growing post-war issues such as orphans and malnutrition. It can be seen that since the Chinese were harshly treated by the Japanese, the colonial government had taken steps to provide relief to them. Such an action could

¹² ‘Why should ye not Eat of (meats) on which Allah’s name hath been Pronounced, when He hath Explained to you in detail What is forbidden to you – Except under compulsion of necessity’ (Quran, 6: 119).

perhaps partly be due to the fact that Chinese people were a significant labour manpower for the British.

The chapter has also shown that DSW officers faced difficulties in implementing their ideas and practices, such as the introduction of milk meals and the public restaurants, which were foreign to the cultures and beliefs of Malaya.

The DSW also took steps to settle the issue of repatriation of detainees, children of prisoners, leper settlement, resettlement, and immigration that existed in the three ethnic groups in Malaya.

The chapter also revealed that the government had provided assistance to the vulnerable group and through the DSW, the government had relied on the help of its other agencies and voluntary bodies in their provision of services to the needy people in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957.

Other social welfare issues confronted by DSW included mui tsai or adoption which is discussed in Chapter 9. The DSW was also responsible for considering the placement of children in need of care and protection, which will be explored in the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER 8

CHILD WELFARE SERVICES: PART II

Introduction

The development of children's homes in developing countries, such as Malaysia, owes a great deal to the history and growth of social welfare services. This chapter will begin by explaining early development of children's homes in Malaya, established and run by voluntary organisations. It will then look at the beginning stages of the colonial government's policy in providing homes for children, as well as examine certain characteristics that existed in terms of financial assistance and admission into the homes. This chapter will also analyse and draw conclusions concerning three children's homes administered by the DSW, namely, the Tun Abdul Aziz Boys' Home, the Serendah Boys' Home and the Selangor Children's Home. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the patterns of homes in the UK and how the building of homes and institutions for children in Malaya possibly emerged.

The Development of Children's Homes

Provision of substitute care for children in the form of residential homes is common characteristic in developed countries (SS 149/46). The development of children's homes in the colonies had its roots during the colonial rule. Residential care 'is the responsibility of voluntary and charitable organisations, many of them having a history of such activity which began in the colonial period' (MacPherson, 1987c: 167). In most developing countries, child welfare services are primarily concerned with the provision

of residential childcare (MacPherson, 1987c). As we shall see later, children's homes in Malaysia emerged during the colonial rule.

Children's homes in Malaya

The Chief Secretary of Malaya, A.T. Newbould, was concerned about immediate social issues facing the country after the war, that is, continuation of welfare work started by the British Military Administration (BMA) and carried out in relief camps, orphanages, and boys homes (SS 149/46). The idea of building children's homes was deemed necessary when Harvey outlined a programme in the 1946 Estimates providing for a continuance of existing homes and the setting up of new homes for orphans, who were considered as the 'classes of persons most needing assistance' (SS 149/46). An investigation of the need for each state and settlement in Malaya to establish homes for children (MU 2247/46; *Malayan Daily News*, 6/6/1946) was made by the Central Welfare Council (CWC) to the government in 1946.

Individuals and organisations, whether religious or secular, had always come to the rescue of needy children through institutional care. Many voluntary organisations maintained children's homes and, generally, the standard of these homes was commendably high. The Save the Children Fund (SCF), for example was founded after the First World War to care for lost and destitute children in Europe. After the Second World War, the activities of this organisation spread worldwide. The SCF came to Malaya to establish an orphanage for accommodation of war orphans of all nationalities and gave generously towards the cost of establishing and maintaining the Serendah

Boys' Home. Funds were derived from voluntary subscribers in England (SS 84/49). The role of SCF will be discussed in the later part of this chapter.

The report, entitled *Family and Child Welfare Services* (DSW, undated), states that children's homes in Malaya began as temporary shelters for orphans and displaced persons needing immediate housing and care after the Second World War. The report also adds that the BMA requisitioned vacant buildings and converted them into homes and, after a certain period of administration, handed them over to the DSW. It can be seen here that suitability of the home sites was not considered. Consequently, most children's homes had to be moved or relocated to larger homes in more suitable locations. Such was the case with the Selangor Children's Home, which will be examined in a separate section in this chapter.

The study has discovered that such homes, welfare centres, orphanages and similar institutions throughout Malaya were in existence before the War. However, during the Japanese occupation some of the institutions were closed and were not reopened. During the BMA period, new homes and orphanages were set up; some for temporary purposes while others for more permanent use (SUK Kedah 'B' 408/46).

Policy for homes and institutions for children

In regards to the general policy for homes, orphanages, and institutions throughout the country, Dr Rawson pointed out that when the children's homes were established, no definite policy existed on admission regulations or staff qualifications (SS 224/48). Accordingly, he suggested the importance of formulating a long-term policy as soon as

possible. The formulation of a policy by the CWC and the Department would certainly help the public to understand the main objectives of the DSW (SS 224/48).

Early child care provision

As discussed in Chapter 4, much of child care work has only been reported since the early British invasion in the nineteenth century (see Appendix 2). This has led to the notion that European Christian missionaries had taken the lead in social welfare provision to children in Malaya. It appears that early Western authors have failed to point out much earlier contributions of the local society, especially in voluntary work provided by other missionaries, such as Muslims and the role of the *pondok* institution as argued in Chapter 4. Even though Jones (1958) claims that there were active Muslim, Christian and Hindu religious organisations concerned with social work in Malaya, she provides no further details.

Based on Western assertions (for example, annual reports), two types of child care services operated in Malaya. The first were orphanages, provided by the Salvation Army and the SCF. The second were residential schools, which covered services that combined education and care, provided by the Roman Catholic Mission and the London Missionary Society (LMS). It can be said that the first childcare provision in Malaya was probably established by LMS (1815-1845) (see Appendix 2).

It should be borne in mind that during early Western intervention, voluntary bodies were also responsible for introducing and popularising secular education in

Malaya since the sixteenth century.¹ Religion was the motivating spirit behind the various Christian missionaries' endeavours to open and maintain schools. The fundamental principle during the first half of the century was that religious and secular knowledge should be given free, whenever possible, to the children of poorer classes. In accordance with this principle, the colonial government assisted the LMS and later the Roman Catholic Mission with allowances amounting to M\$30 a month in the early 1830s (Frances and Ee, 1971). The mission schools, which formed the other type of English schools, were mainly established and maintained by the LMS, the Roman Catholic Mission, the Methodist Mission (MU 10869/47) and the Church of England.

In the case of LMS, this was one of the various missionary societies found in Britain at the end of the eighteenth century, and contributed considerable money and energy towards missionaries' efforts, not only in Malaya, but in other countries, such as China and India (Doran, 1996). Between 1815 and 1845, female missionaries in the Straits Settlement, under the supervision of the Society, seriously considered education as part of the broader aims of the mission by teaching and supervising schools for non-European children. Apart from their involvement with charitable work in schools, women missionaries also contributed to raising funds, while several of them even raised orphans and destitute children in their own homes (Doran, 1996).

The first institution built for the protection of women and girls in Malaya, Po Leung Kuk, was established in 1880,² and served almost all categories of unfortunate

¹ The first recorded Roman Catholic Mission School in Malaya was established by Portuguese Jesuits in Malacca in 1548 (Francis and Ee, 1971). The school seems to have provided a classical education similar to that given in schools in the Society of Jesus throughout the Europe of that day (Moorhead, 1963).

² However, Fuziah (2002) states the institution was established in 1878. The name Po Leung Kuk refers to 'the institution for the protection of the good' (Lim, 1980: 106), but the translation 'Institution for the Protection of Women and Girls' was generally accepted (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1948).

Chinese girls including the 'mentally weak' (Lim: 1980: 107). This home was financed through donations from prominent Chinese businessmen and 'governed by a committee of Chinese, presided over by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs [Protectorate], and by the local Protector of Chinese as his deputy' (Purcell, 1967: 178).

Displaced children

One of the early steps taken by the BMA in dealing with the thousands of displaced persons on account of the war was the setting up of a refugee and displaced persons branch. Ex-Welfare Officer (EWO) 1 explained that:

The displaced persons or otherwise known as the human relief service was introduced after the war ended, that is, to bring back Malaysians who were stranded in Thailand or anywhere else, just to sort out people back to their homes in Malaysia.

(EWO 1, 2003)

About 4,000 people were rescued and put into camps. Many, when found, were not only destitute but were actually dying of starvation and affected by diseases such as smallpox, typhoid and cholera (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1946*). Some were homeless, disabled, and unable to work, while others awaited the opportunity to return to their homes. When some of the camps were closed, arrangements were made to transfer the aged and infirmed, the sick and unemployed, to homes. The camps were also opened to disabled persons of all ages, including children who needed food, shelter, clothing and medical attention. In a number of areas, particularly in towns, orphaned children in rags and covered with scabies were picked up from the streets and put into relief camps.

In Pulau Pinang for instance, there were two relief camps: the Circular Road and the Flying Club Road. Out of 277 people, eighteen children were accommodated for in 1949. The residents comprised all types of people but mostly the destitute, the decrepit, the limbless, the blind, the dependents of detainees on transit, cured lepers discharged from Sungei Buloh Leper Settlement, and unemployed persons (SS 375/50).

When children's homes were opened in Terengganu, Batu Gajah and Kuala Lumpur, the displaced children were then transferred to these homes, which provided care and protection. The convent orphanages, which had remained open throughout the Japanese occupation, were always ready to take in unwanted babies and children who would otherwise have been homeless. In return, the orphanages received from the administration grants-in-aid, food, and clothing (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1946).

In late October 1945, staff officers of refugees and displaced persons were sent to Malaya and set up headquarters in certain states: Penang, Kuala Lumpur, Seremban and Johore. They took over the work performed by the Labour Department of receiving large number of labourers awaiting repatriation from Siam – the survivors of the notorious “Death Railway” (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1946).³ As soon as the survivors were ready to move, they were transferred to camps nearest to their own state and, ultimately transported to their homes. Relief camps continued to exist throughout the period of the BMA and some thousand destitute persons of all nationalities were cared for because they were unable to earn a living.

³ It was reported that in January 1946, two ships became available for repatriation of the large numbers of displaced persons concentrated in camps near Bangkok. This ship brought about eight hundred persons each time. By the end of March, some ten thousand had been brought back to Malaya and returned to their homes.

The Tanah Merah Welfare Camp, originally a military hutted camp for refugees and displaced persons situated in Jitra, Kedah, was a welfare home constructed in 1941 (PS 283/49; P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1948). In 1945 and 1946, this home was used as a staging-camp for Indian labourers returning to Malaya from work on the Burma-Siam railway.⁴ The camp, which initially accommodated the destitute, juvenile delinquents, and members of the camp staff (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1948) consisted of twenty-seven huts. However in 1949, it also served as shelter for the aged and infirmed, incurable TB patients, women and children in need of protection, and a home for orphans. There were approximately eighty-seven patients and 116 other residents, including twenty children. The majority of the residents were Chinese, and a few were Malays and Indians. With regards to the number of children in the camp, another report stated that 'there are now 30 children accommodated in the Hostel, owing to the great variation in the ages, small boys and girls of 5 years and 6 years and girls of 13 years and 14 years' (SUK Kedah 'B'1459).

The Working Committee inspected the camp and found that the buildings were old and dilapidated despite the fact that the DSW had done its best to improve living conditions within the camp.⁵ As a result, the Committee suggested the children be moved to one of the centralised institutions, a step which it believed could protect the children from the demoralising and unhealthy surroundings of the camp. They further

⁴ The main objectives of this camp were: to provide accommodation for 5,000 people, to establish stores of food and clothing, to organise rehabilitation by feeding, medical, etc. During the period under review (1943-1947), the camp catered for a daily average of 3,206 inhabitants. The total number of persons registered and admitted was 12,758, and by the end of 1947 10,124 of them had been returned to their original location or to the place they chose to go. There were 51 Indian orphans (ADM 2/33).

⁵ The conditions in the camp were terrible. All huts required repairs and some to the extent of rebuilding. The sanitation and drainage were foul, inadequate and badly sited (ADM 2/33).

recommended the DSW to consider the possibility of accommodating these children in a suitable orphanage either in Penang or Perak (PS 283/49).

Provision of grant-in-aid

During the pre-war period, the extent to which homes and orphanages depended on government grants was not substantial since support was usually given by philanthropic bodies and the public. However, at the end of the Japanese occupation, the majority of homes could not remain open due to financial reasons, such as high cost of consumer goods. These homes were virtually without means and only received emergency grants in the form of cash and goods from the government (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1946).

The war years had changed the whole situation and by the end of 1947 the DSW directly administered and financed thirteen homes. Some of these homes were exclusively for children, some were for the aged and infirmed, and some were for destitute persons of all ages (P/KEB1 *DSWAR*, 1947). Besides these homes, institutions, run by various religious bodies and other philanthropic organisations, were also assisted by government grant-in-aid (see Appendix 2). As reported in 1951, thirty seven institutions and orphanages ran by unofficial bodies received grant-in-aid (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1951). By then, it was the policy of the government to support the voluntary agencies through grant-in-aid.

Until 1947, homeless children were still taken care of by convent orphanages, and the government provided a grant-in-aid for their maintenance (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1947). Other children's homes and orphanages that existed during this time were Children's Home in Perak, Selangor Children's Home in Selangor, the Day Nursery in

Negeri Sembilan, and the Dungun Orphanage in Terengganu (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1947). In thirty children's homes ran by voluntary bodies, the number of occupants cared for increased to 3000 in 1952 (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1952). The average per capita contribution to these homes made by government per month was M\$4.95 (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1952).

Children's homes under DSW administration

Three types of institutional care for children had been identified during the period of study. The first was exclusively for boys, the second for girls, and the third for both sexes, whereby children were mixed with other groups such as refugees and older people. As Table 8.1 indicates, the last two homes, that is the Bedong Welfare Home, Kedah and the Taman Kemumin Welfare Home, Kelantan, were "mixed" homes that accommodated both the older people and children. In these homes, a separate section was temporarily allocated for the children.

The Bedong Welfare Home, opened on 24 August 1952 for the purpose of caring for the elderly, the destitute, the distressed persons, and the blind, was reported to provide care and protection for crippled children (K/KEB2). The total number of children cared for was around fifty, compared to 220 adults.⁶ Twenty-five out of the fifty children received education from various national schools. The Chinese constituted about seventy-five percent of the home's population and the other ethnic groups

⁶ Owing to the limited numbers that could be accommodated, the Department had to choose only the deserving cases and priority was given to destitute patients in hospital who occupied valuable beds and those who were homeless. If no admission could be arranged at the home, the destitute were given small food parcels to temporarily alleviate their sufferings. All cases admitted were medically examined before they could mingle with other residents. They were given clothing, tobacco, blankets, etc. and in return, those who were still strong would be asked to do a little bit of compound cleaning and other light jobs (K/KEB 2).

consisted of Malays and Indians. A qualified hospital assistant was put in charge of the home dispensary, the health of inmates, and sanitation of the home.

Children's Home	Maximum Capacity (1955)	Actual Number (1955)	Maximum Capacity (1958)	Actual Number (1958)
(1) Jubilee Home for Children, Johore	200	126	140	144
(2) Jubilee Boys' Club, Malacca	100	95	100	91
(3) Babies Home, Malacca	30	32	30	31
(4) Children's Home, Negeri Sembilan	80	73	80	81
(5) Children's Home, Selangor	75	71	80	73
(6) Children's Home, Perak	80	80	80	77
(7) Sultan Abdul Aziz Malay Orphanage, Kuala Kangsar, Perak	50	47	-	-
(8) Children's Section, Bedong Welfare Home, Kedah	50	49	40	33
(9) Children's Section, Taman Kemumin Welfare Home, Kelantan	50	44	40	44
Total	720	615	590	554

Table 8.1: Nine government children's homes in 1955 and 1958
Source: P/PM3 FMAR 1955; P/KEB1 DSWAR 1958

In Table 8.1, no data was given for the year 1958 of Sultan Abdul Aziz Malay Orphanage because it was closed in February 1958. Due to this closure, arrangements were made by the government to either transfer the boys to other homes or find foster homes for them. A suitable site for a new home was obtained in Kuala Kangsar. Accordingly, preliminary architectural plans based on the cottage system in England were drawn up, whereby a home would consist of independent small units (P/KEB1 DSWAR 1958).

In 1955, nine homes existed, including one for babies, four for girls and very young boys, two for boys, and two children's sections of the elderly homes. Until 1957, the Federal section of the DSW continued to administer these nine children's homes. The total number of children in these homes at the end of the year was 551 and the homes' maximum capacity was 720.

It should be pointed out that it was the plan of the DSW to preserve, as far as possible, the family unit and to reduce the number of children in welfare homes. To attain this aim, cases were reviewed regularly to place suitable children for adoption or find them satisfactory foster homes. Another issue that needed attention was the increasingly large number of physically or mentally disabled children. At the end of 1957, around twelve per cent of the children in the homes were disabled. In Johore Bahru, for example, the figure was as high as thirty-two per cent (*MLSWAR 1957*). This figure suggests that being disabled was one reason for placement in the homes.

Institution-type children's homes

There were six institution-type children's homes⁷ (see Table 8.2) administered by the DSW throughout the country until 2003 (DSW pamphlet, undated). Among these six homes, the Tun Abdul Aziz Boy's Home in Malacca, built in 1951, was recorded as the earliest child welfare institution. However, this study revealed that the years these homes were established are different from those published in the DSW pamphlet, particularly those for the Tun Abdul Aziz Boys Home in Malacca, the Serendah Boys'

⁷ As mentioned in Chapter 1, there were also five family-type children's homes, a new model of the family system children's homes, whereby married couples selected from the community to act as foster parents for a group of eight to ten children, aged 12 to 18 years old.

Home in Selangor, the Tengku Budriah Children’s Home in Kuala Lumpur, and the Sultan Abdul Aziz Children’s Home, Perak. In all likelihood, the DSW changed the name and the dates of these homes’ establishment based on the dates and names given during their formal opening ceremonies.⁸

Institution-type children’s homes	Target group	Year established
1. Tun Abdul Aziz Boys Home, Melaka (Malacca Jubilee Boys’ Home)	Boys between 12-18 years old	1951 (1936)
2. Tan Sri Abdul Hamid Khan Boys Home, Selangor (Serendah Boys’ Home)	Boys between 12-18 years old	1959 (1946)
3. Sultan Abdul Aziz Children’s Home, Perak (Sultan Abdul Aziz Malay Orphanage)	Girls until 18 years and Boys until 12 years old	1962 (1948)
4. Tengku Ampuan Fatimah Children’s Home, Pahang	Girls until 18 years and Boys until 12 years old	1963
5. Tengku Budriah Children’s Home, Kuala Lumpur (Selangor Children’s Home)	Girls until 18 years and Boys until 12 years old	1964 (1946)
6. Taman Bakti Children’s Home, Pulau Pinang	Girls until 18 years and Boys until 12 years old	1969

Table 8.2: The six institution-type children’s homes

Note: i. The names shown in the parentheses are the original names established during the British period.
ii. The years shown in the parentheses are the years the homes were established according to the data found in this study.

Source: Adapted from the DSW pamphlet (undated)

As stated in Chapter 3 regarding the limitation of data, and based on the four children’s homes established during the British administration, only three homes have been chosen to be covered in greater detail in the current study. They are the Malacca

⁸ For example, the Opening Ceremony of the Selangor Children’s Home on 25/9/1964 was graced by the presence of Her Majesty the Raja Permaisuri Agong (Her Highness the Queen), who performed the opening ceremony, witnessed by the Minister of Welfare Services, the Director of the DSW and more than 200 distinguished guests. This new Home was named after Her Majesty, and was officially known as the Tengku Budriah Children’s Home (P/KEB1 1964).

Jubilee Boys' Home, the Serendah Boys' Home and the Selangor Children's Home. These three homes were chosen because they are currently and actively being administered by the DSW.

Malacca Jubilee Boys' Home (Tun Abdul Aziz Boys' Home)

Club establishment

The Tun Abdul Aziz Boys' Home, opened on 10 May 1936, was first known as Malacca Jubilee Boys' Club. This club was first mooted in the columns of the *Malacca Guardian* during the early part of 1935. At the meeting on 24 June 1935, an Organising Committee Representative of all local communities raised the need for financial aid.⁹ As a result, an Old Marine Police Station building situated near Kim Seng Bridge was taken over and renovated. Electric lighting and kitchens were installed. Furniture was purchased for the dormitory and recreation room. One year later, the Government agreed to donate a sum of M\$40,000 to establish the club.

Among the objectives for establishing the club was the need to provide food and shelter for destitute boys of Malacca and to find employment for them when they left

⁹ It consisted of two persons delegated in January of each year from each of the following bodies:

- i) Malacca Club
- ii) Straits Chinese British Association
- iii) Seng Cheong Society
- iv) Indo-Ceylonese Association and Malacca Indian Club (one from each)
- v) Seruan Islam
- vi) Chetiar community
- vii) Rotary Club of Malacca
- viii) Eurasian Association
- ix) Meng Seng Association

The committee had power to make additional members of up to four people, one of whom should be the Assistant Protector of the Chinese, Malacca. Funds for managing the club were raised by subscriptions from the public or from charitable organisations. Funds were also raised by theatrical performances and by similar methods decided by the committee.

the club. The boys were not only trained in useful trade and recreation but their physical and medical conditions were given attention as well.

Club admission

Circular letters were sent through Committee members to the Local Communities and Associations inviting applicants between the ages of six and sixteen for admission into the home. Advertisements were put on screen at local cinemas and in the *Straits Times* newspaper. Children who applied for admission to the club had to first go through the Selection Committee (SS 149/46). The boys enjoyed the amenities and facilities of this Club with free education, clothing, board and lodging (SWO 38/48). Boys who came from poor families, but not necessarily destitute parents were accepted, including orphans (SWO 38/48). However, girls in similar circumstances continued to be cared for by the Convents (SWO 38/48).

Ethnic groups	1946	1951
Malays	11	3
Chinese	8	52
Indians	1	3
Eurasians	-	2
Total	20	60

Table 8.3: Numbers of boys admitted to the
Malacca Jubilee Boys' Club
Source: SS 149/46

Table 8.3 shows that twenty boys were admitted on the official opening of the Club on 9 November 1946, including eleven Malays, eight Chinese and one Indian (SS 149/46). At the end of January 1951, the number increased, and it was reported that

sixty boys consisting of various ethnic groups, including Eurasians, were living in the institution. The average age of the boys was twelve years old (DSW 71/51).

Club administration and maintenance

In the Meeting of the Malacca Jubilee Boys' Club held on 29 June 1948, it was unanimously decided that the Club should be revived. The committee agreed to call a meeting of the Representatives of various communities and associations to form a permanent committee to manage and maintain the boys' home (SS 149/46). A committee meeting, held on 9 December 1948, decided to utilise the Malacca Jubilee Boys' Club endowment fund to erect a suitable building to accommodate 150 to 200 boys. This was because the old premise was reclaimed by the Police Department. The building had to be vacated by 1 November 1949. The boys were then temporarily housed at St. David's Mission School.

On 25 January 1949, the Malacca Jubilee Boys' Club was then known as Malacca's Silver Jubilee Memorial. It had cared for boys of all Asian communities and was maintained by grant-in-aid from the Federal Government, administered through the Federal DSW. At the same time, the Superintendent of the Malacca Jubilee Boys' Club changed the Club's name to Malacca Jubilee Boys' Home. The administration and maintenance of this home was passed over to the DSW in 1950 (SWO 38/49). The boys were then moved to the new Malacca Boys' Jubilee Home at Mata Kuching on 17 January 1951. Four dormitories, "Gurney", "Beck", "Harper," and "Rotary", each accommodating twenty boys were designed.

The DSW continued to administer the Malacca Jubilee Boys' Home and found that the institution seemed to lapse in its casework, as many admissions were not given attention and no further follow-ups were made. This had resulted in children remaining in the institution longer than necessary. The Department emphasized that children should be admitted to the institutions only as a last resort, and not merely for receiving education.

The children's section in the institution mostly dealt with applications for admission to the homes. It was common belief within society that the Malacca Jubilee Boys' Home was intended to be a hostel for boys. This presumably resulted in a significant number of applications for admissions. As a result, every application for admission was investigated in detail. The section did not admit a child to any institution unless no other alternative was available. It seems that the DSW changed its guidelines of admissions due to the popularity of this home.

Serendah Boys' Home / School¹⁰

Home establishment

The Serendah Boys' Home, started in 1946 after the British re-occupied Malaya, was initially run and supported by a voluntary organisation, that is, the SCF of Britain. On completion of its preliminary work, Mrs. Bibby, a member of the SCF team who knew Malaya in the old days, realised that one of the greatest needs of the country was a home for destitute children, orphans and vagrants, 'who were roaming and begging in streets and towns, in the school' (SS 376/45).

¹⁰ 'Home' and 'school' were used interchangeably in some of the reports. Currently, the home is known as the National Skills Development Centre (Vocational).

The SCF considered the project of establishing the home, and eventually the government offered the disused Civil Hospital near Serendah. These buildings had been maintained by the Public Works Department of Selangor, and were then used as the hospital for Serendah until 1941.

Home admission

In regard to admission into the school, boys from all over Malaya ranging from the age of seven to sixteen years were accepted in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Fund, which conducted all its work regardless of differences in race, nationality or creed. Accordingly, before the process of admission started, the DSW investigated each application to the home.

The current study has revealed that at the beginning of its establishment in 1946, the home was intended to receive 200 non-delinquent and orphan boys, thirty-nine of whom were in the Selangor Boys’ Home (SS 376/45). Thirty non-delinquent boys were transferred from the Pudu Road Home, which originally was an Approved School used entirely to accommodate delinquent boys (SS 376/45).

Ethnic groups	1947	1949	1950	1954	1956
Malays	18	42	51	40	37
Chinese	21	50	68	90	92
Indians	54	49	46	47	41
Eurasians	7	-	-	-	-
Sinhalese	10	-	-	-	-
Total	110	141	165	177	170

Table 8.4: Numbers of boys admitted to the Serendah Boys’ Home
Source: P/SUMU2 1947; P/PM3 FMAR 1950, FMAR 1954, FMAR 1956; SS 376/45

The numbers of boys admitted to the home since 1946 increased from sixty-five (SS 376/45) to 177 in 1954. As seen from Table 8.4, the school had 110 boys in 1947, consisting of fifty-four Indians, twenty-one Chinese, eighteen Malays, seven Eurasians and ten Sinhalese. As mentioned earlier, the home, at its inception, accepted the destitute, vagrants and orphans. However, by the end of 1948, the home was recorded to be taking care of 120 boys including orphans, waifs, strays, and those with disciplinary problems (*Sunday Tribune*, 13/11/1949). In 1949, the home was reported to cater for 141 boys, comprising Chinese (50), Indians (49), and Malays (42), who came from various states in Malaya as well as from Singapore. Until the end of 1954, the home catered for around 177 boys, comprising Chinese (90), Indians (47), and Malays (40).

Home administration and maintenance

Mrs. Bibby, who founded the home (PR 729/47) in 1946 with thirty-two boys initially admitted, became the first Superintendent of the Home (RC 359/46). When Mrs. Bibby returned to England in 1947, Alan Mitchel Blake, from the SCF's headquarters, was designated as the Superintendent of the School. From the report (RC 359/46), Blake had had the intention to open up a home for girls run on similar lines to the boys' home. However, due to insufficient money, the idea was not carried through (RC 359/46).

In early December 1948, A.M. Blake was murdered.¹¹ Nevertheless, his colleague, Rachel Milner, heroically carried on her work as well as she could. In February 1949, Lt. Colonel Frank Adam from Britain arrived in Malaya and took over

¹¹ The murder of Mr. Blake of the Serendah Boys' Home at the hand of bandits was recorded with regret in the *DSW Annual Report 1948*. He was a member of the Selangor State Welfare Committee and did a tremendous amount of work outside Serendah Home (PS 77/49).

the management of the school. However, during the three months when Milner and Adam intervened in the running of the school, that is, since Mr. Blake's death, conditions at the school deteriorated.

The school was organised on English school lines with prefectorial systems as the backbone of the organisation. Four houses were organised within the school and named after the people who had shown interests in the schools, namely "Mountbatten", "Gent", "Blake" and "Milner", the same idea used in the Malacca Jubilee Boys' Home.¹² However, based on the Report of the Serendah Boys' Home of October 1950 (PR 729/47), since Mrs. Bibby had founded the School, it ~~was decided~~ that the name changed from Milner House to Bibby House.

The Superintendent selected prefects for each house, and they were given the authority to choose their own four sub-prefects. Prefects and sub-prefects received a small monthly allowance for responsibilities they held (*Sunday Tribune*, 13/11/1949). Each community was given a percentage of prefects and sub-prefects according to its total population, and each sub-prefect was in charge of ten to eleven boys. The school was divided into four sub-areas, one for each house. The prefects were entirely responsible for the discipline, sanitation, and cleanliness of their areas and for the supervision of vocational training, games, and the boys' assigned duties. All these developments had taken place since the introduction of the house system by Lt. Col. F. Adams (*Sunday Tribune*, 13/11/1949). Each house prefect laid out responsibilities within his allocated area and placed a sub-prefect within each subsection. At the end of

¹² In *Sunday Tribune*, 13/11/1949 it was reported as Milner not Bibby.

every three months, prefects were asked to send the names of boys who had worked hard and behaved.

Training and education

Vocational training, such as growing vegetables and fruits, flower gardening, and rearing pigs, ducks, and goats, gave the boys within the school something to do in their spare time and kept them out of mischief. Interestingly, they even built houses for their livestock. Note that pigs were reared within the school area, which also had Malay children living there. It could be said here that the government was insensitive towards the teaching of Islam, perhaps due to the colonial government's limited understanding of the religion, which forbid its followers to touch pigs.¹³ However, there were no reported remarks or comments from the Malays about this matter within the collected data.

By the end of 1950, the school had four acres of vegetable gardens, hundreds of fruit trees, duck farms, and numerous flowering shrubs and trees had been planted. The school bought all the products from the boys at 50 per cent off market rates. The products were sent to the cookhouse for home consumption, thus reducing food expenses. The money earned was deposited in the post office savings bank in the name of each boy. These savings accounts were handed over to the boys at the age of sixteen, before they left the home to start a new life.

Some of the older boys were reported to be receiving vocational training in carpentry, tailoring, elementary mechanical engineering (FS 12909/50) and toy making.

¹³ Pigs are unclean for Muslim. The Quran prohibits the consumption of pork in no less than 4 different places (Quran, 2:173, 5:3, 6:145 and 16:115).

The tailoring section even made garments for the boys of the home (*Sunday Tribune*, 13/11/1949). For instance, Miss Pure of the DSW visited the home three times to teach some of the boys how to make toys (PR 729/47). EWO 4 (2003) also admits that Miss Pure was actively engaged in the care and was in charge of the children during that time. It was evident that the DSW was working together with voluntary organisations. One of the organisations was the newly formed Women's Service League, which also helped supply of volunteers during that time.

In regards to education, classes in Chinese and Tamil were conducted in the morning, while the Malay boys attended the Government Malay School at Sungei Choh. Indian and Chinese boys were given English lessons at the home. The Malay boys were given one hour's instruction in English in the afternoon. Two instructors were employed and gave training to those who were too old to learn English. Religious instruction was given once a week, according to the individual's faith. However, further details about the children's religious observance and practices while staying at the home were not available within the collected data. Daily classes in swimming, which began in 1947 (SS 540/48), were also carried out. Thus, it can be said that the above learning opportunities were given to the children at this home regardless of ethnic group or religion. It is apparent that everyone was treated fairly in terms of education.

Until 1949, the home was still maintained by the SCF, and the Selangor State Government, which contributed M\$1,500 monthly. Nevertheless, the Fund depended on voluntary donations and provided money to cover the remainder of the expenses for the upkeep of the home, which amounted to M\$70,000 a year (*Sunday Tribune*, 13/11/1949). In 1950, with the kindness of the Selangor State Chinese Welfare

Committee, money was provided for the construction of carpentry and tailoring workshops, and for the provision of new carpentry tools. The Malayan Lottery Board also made a generous grant of M\$30,000 for the construction and equipment of an engineering workshop (Adams, 1953: 95-97). Furthermore, according to the 1951 Annual Report, the Social Welfare Services Lotteries Board donated M\$26,000 to this home (FS 12909/50).

When the boys reached the age of sixteen, everything possible was done to find them jobs. The Selangor State Chinese Welfare Committee, for example, helped in finding employment for the boys (SS 84/49). Some of them were reported to be working at the Malayan Collieries, the Kuala Lumpur Telecommunications Department, and some became carpenters and spray painters. In addition to these, one of the older boys was selected for a course at the Military College, Sandhurst, England to become a Malay Commissioned Officer in the Malay Regiment.¹⁴

Selangor Children's Home (Tengku Budriah Children's Home)

Home establishment

The Selangor Children's Home was first located in the Technical School Hostel, Damansara Road, Kuala Lumpur (SS 213/46). It was opened in 1946 (*Malay Mail* 15/4/1946) with the help of two staffs from the Red Cross and St. John as organisers (SS 540/48). The first Matron of the home was Mrs Chong, who was formerly from the Chinese Secretariat. Later this duty was taken over by Mrs Van Rooyen. The Selangor

¹⁴ His name was Ismail bin Ibrahim, known as "Jimmy" among the boys in the Home, who left the Home in early 1949 to attend a course at the Trade School Kuala Lumpur. When he finished studying there for six months, he was enlisted in the Malay Regiment and went through the military training at Port Dickson, Negeri Sembilan (PR 729/47).

Children's Home and the Perak Children's Home were taken over by the BMA (P/KEB1 DSWAR 1946).

Home admission

Abandoned babies, children of lepers, mental cases, as well as vagrant children (SS 540/48) were placed in the home. With regard to the abandoned children, EWO 2 states:

There were many abandoned children at that time. We were not expecting such cases. The rubber-tappers, for instance, found these children in the estates, so they brought them home and sent them over to the welfare homes. There were cases of parents abandoning their children when they got into domestic fights, their children were suffering from malnutrition and so on.

(EWO 2, 2003)

Although many abandoned children were brought to the DSW office at that time, not all were sent to the welfare homes (EWO 2, 2003). In the case of admission to the home, children of all races were equally eligible.

The home, with a capacity of around 100 children, was intended to take care of children who had no homes, either because they were orphans or because their parents were destitute. At the beginning, admission was restricted to both boys and girls between three and eight years old but it was possible to take older girls later (SS 376/45). However, Macgregor reported that, in effect, there was room for 200 children. Boys between the ages of three until eight and girls from three to twelve years old were accepted (SS 376/45). In another account, the home was reported to cater for boys up to seven years old and girls up to the age of fourteen (SS 540/1948).

It is interesting to note that, of the first sixty-five orphans admitted to the Selangor Children's Home, only one child passed the doctor with a clean bill of health. The remainder suffered from enlarged spleens, worms, scabies, and the usual diseases resulting from neglect and under nourishment (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1946).

With regards to the number of children, Sister L. Buckoke informed the Selangor State Welfare Committee that there were sixty-two children in the home (SS 510/47) and it had increased to seventy-three including thirteen babies in 1947.¹⁵ Some of the babies were those of leper patients in the Sungei Buloh Settlement (SS 83/48). From the sixty children discharged in 1948, thirty-one of the children were released to their parents, twenty-nine were released to persons for care and protection, and most went into homes of people who were able to take care of them. At the onset of 1948, the total number of children admitted was sixty-eight, which consisted of thirteen Chinese boys, twenty-three girls, eleven Indian boys, eighteen Indian girls and three Malay girls (SS 499/49).

On 4 February 1947, the children were transferred to new premises because the building at Damansara Road was going to be turned into a technical school by the Education Department (SS 213/46). Nevertheless, due to the generosity of the Loke Yew family, the children were transferred to a large house at 4th Mile Klang Road (SS 540/48). A Superintendent, Sister Lilian Buckoke, was appointed to supervise the home (SS 510/47).

¹⁵ In the Meeting of the Selangor State Welfare Committee on 22/3/1948, the Home's Matron gave information about the number of children.

Home administration and maintenance

In the Meeting of Selangor State Welfare Committee, it was decided that a Board of Guardians, which in the UK were responsible for children 'deprived of home life and whose parents were unable to make provision' (Sainsbury, 1977: 26), should be formed at the Selangor Children's Home, to supervise the children's home in place of British Red Cross personnel who were soon expected to leave Malaya (SS 329/46). The Committee also 'considered that such matters as applications for adoption could be referred for investigation etc., to the Guardians'¹⁶ (SS 329/46). We will look into the issue of adoption in the next chapter.

The Selangor Children's Home also had a Board of Management which consisted of four persons.¹⁷ This informal committee, which had no set constitution, took general responsibility for the management of the home, for example, of issues pertaining to management, staffing or arrangement for the children (SS 329/46).

Associated with the Board of Management was a group of interested local people from every community which served as an informal visiting committee.¹⁸ Dr Rawson, the welfare officer of Selangor viewed that the informal arrangement for the committee members had resulted in the 'public support for the Home and interest in the children' (SS 329/46). In addition, Dr Rawson took the daily administrative responsibility of managing supplies, contracting for feeding arrangements, and

¹⁶ A letter by J. Buckoke, Selangor State SWO was sent to the Selangor Resident Commissioner dated on 5th July 1946. The Board of Guardians was composed of Mr J. Buckoke as the Chairman, Dr Miss Hilder Yuen, Miss Saleha Mohd Ali, Mr R.N. Thamby Thurai and Capt C.G. Watts as the Secretary.

¹⁷ They were Mrs. S.B. Palmers, Mrs Pinney, Mrs Edgar and CSWO, Dr Rawson.

¹⁸ The first informal meeting of the Board was held on the 22/7/1948. The Board comprised various communities, such as Dr Rawson as the Chairman, Mrs J.W. Pinney, Mrs Edgar, Mrs Lee Tian Onn, Mrs Vias, Mrs Van Rooyen (Home Matron) and Miss Yong Sow Lon (Secretary).

organising staffing matters. He too pointed out the Board of Management had made 'it possible for any difficulties to be dealt with as they arise' (SS 329/46).

It can be concluded that there were two committees involved in the supervision of children in the Selangor Children's Home. They were the Board of Guardians and the Board of Management. However, within the collected data, it could not be ascertained whether or not similar board or committee existed in other children's homes in Malaya as well.

Training and education

In the home, each child received medical attention, new clothing, good food, and care. Elementary education teachers were available on a daily basis (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1946*). Here the older girls were taught needlework, sewing of small garments, simple embroidery, knitting, making of paper flowers, and cooking. The older boys were taught simple gardening (SS 499/49). For instance, in the case of knitting, EWO 4 explains her experience:

They [the British colonials] wanted us to knit, all to be sent to England. Not only from Malaya but, from all over her colonies and we provide them the most. They were at war and they need woollen things to be worn during winter, they needed all the warm clothes oooo...I even knitted before going to sleep, all sorts of clothes - helmets, clothes. Who was supposed to do all that? They taught and trained us to do all those things? But, in my case they [didn't] need to train me because my mother already taught me how to knit. So, they used me, to teach.

(EWO 4, 2003)

In the discussion so far, it is obvious that residential care for children became the urgent responsibility of the government during the post-war period. Having identified

the development of children's homes established by the voluntary associations and later administered by the DSW, the next section will discuss further examples of institutions ran by the voluntary associations.

Discussion

Other welfare institutions

Some welfare institutions such as the Po Leung Kuk, the Salvation Army, and the Catholic Convents catered to all ethnic groups (Lim, 1980: 108). Po Leung Kuk was financed through donations from prominent Chinese businessmen and governed by a committee of Chinese, presided over by the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, and by the local Protector of Chinese as his deputy (Purcell, 1967: 178). The home catered for "permanent lodgers" and "temporary lodgers".¹⁹ The permanent lodgers were young girls below the age of sixteen who were orphans, or who were ill-treated by their employers or mistresses. In cases where the young girls were believed to be victims of trafficking, they were detained and sent to the Po Leung Kuk in Penang, Singapore, or Kuala Lumpur (Lai, 1986) for rehabilitation.²⁰

The Salvation Army's Homes established in Perak and Penang cared for homeless boys and girls (see Appendix 2) and those who lacked proper parental control

¹⁹ The aim of Po Leung Kuk for temporary lodgers was rehabilitation for prostitutes, law offenders, and 'uncontrollable' girls (Lim, 1980: 107). Under the Women and Girls Protection Ordinance, every Chinese female on arrival at the Malayan ports was inspected by officials of the Protectorate. This was to ascertain that the female immigrants were not victims of unscrupulous traffickers. The girls were sent to the home if there was no relative or guarantor to fetch them on arrival. They would be 'released after their story had been verified' (Lim, 1980: 107), or their relatives claimed them.

²⁰ Rehabilitation meant a return to traditional roles and included the teaching of the traditional skills of cooking and sewing as well as basic reading, writing and arithmetic for general competence. Unless adopted, the girls stayed in the Po Leung Kuk until they reached eighteen years of age when they could leave to get a job or to get married (Lai, 1986).

(SS 357/45).²¹ For instance, the Salvation Army Girls' Home in Ipoh, Perak, opened in February 1947, could accommodate thirty girls and was willing 'to take in any woman, girl or child needing care or protection, juvenile offenders from the Courts, and young girls from the streets, and children whose parents are in prison or in hospital' (SS 357/45). In 1948, the number of occupants admitted was seventy-six women and girls.

Education was given in English, Chinese, domestic science, cookery, needlework, and knitting. The girls could stay there until the age of sixteen years. EWO 1 points out that:

There were a lot of orphanages at that time...emm...I remember the Salvation Army. It built orphanages at various places. For those who lost their parents, I knew that as I was in the community service during that year. I was still schooling and I had been to the Salvation Army. After the war ended, a year after the war, some issues were being settled. Buildings, were starting to be repaired, damaged buildings started to be repaired.

(EWO 1, 2003)

There were altogether seven institutions built for girls in Malaya out of forty-eight institutions (see Appendix 2).

Voluntary homes in the UK provided special care for children who were physically disabled or who presented behaviour problems. Convalescent homes, holiday homes, mother and baby homes, temporary shelters, and hostels for young people who had left school are examples of such homes (CO 859/244/10). Although there was an urgent need to set up homes for the physically and mentally disabled children in Malaya at that time, the DSW had no special homes or institutions for them. Hence, these

²¹ This type of home in fact was running earlier (since 1936 in Singapore) and continued in a modified form throughout the Japanese occupation. This institution was gazetted as a suitable place of detention for boys up to sixteen years of age (ADM 2/22).

children were maintained and cared for in government and grant-aided homes as well as in orphanages run by voluntary bodies. It could be said that the voluntary bodies had significantly assisted the government in the provision of welfare services to the needy.

However, the involvement of voluntary bodies was an issue to some people in Malaya, and hence their unfavourable response toward services provided by voluntary organisations. Some voluntary bodies were accused to have “taken the opportunity” to impose Christian beliefs on Malay children. Some Malays believed that the colonial government, through the activities and involvement of missionaries, such as Catholic Convents and many other church organisations, had the intention of spreading Christianity to the people, in particular among the school children (DSW 85).

According to EWO 1 (2003), after the SCF left Malaya, the responsibility of the Serendah Boys’ Home was given to the Christian Ignition, Catholic Christians. EWO 1 himself received a report saying that the Malay children at the home were converted to Christians. He said that he would not have known the truth if he was not working there (he cannot remember the exact date but it was around late 1950s). Actually, the children did not convert to Christianity, but instead they had to learn Catholicism because it was included in their timetable. The children had to go to the chapel after breakfast every day. That was the reason the people believed the children had converted to Christianity. Perhaps, if the colonial government had researched the beliefs and values of the local Malay people in more depth, they would have not permitted the Malay children staying in the home to be involved or be exposed in activities related to other religion than Islam. Thus, it can be argued that because of limited knowledge on the local people’s

way of life, the services provided by government and organisation were received with cold reception and the suspicious feelings among the Malayan people.

With regards to welfare of the blind children, the St. Nicholas's Home in Penang, which was built in 1926, became the first home built for them. 'Seven or eight blind children, otherwise normal, were kept in hospital because their homes were unsuitable or their parents did not want them to return' (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1948). Until 1947, the home was financed and run by the Church of England (MU 10869/47) and it was regarded as an important player in the overall development of blind welfare services in Malaya (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1955). A similar home was also opened in Malacca in 1946.

Additionally, the current study has also revealed that an individual such as Tengku Ampuan Fatima, one of the members of the Selangor royal family, generously placed her house at Morib for use as a home for crippled children. The home was renovated and its furnishings and equipment were provided by donations (*DSWAR* 1950 in FS 12948/1950).

Patterns of children's homes

It seems that children's homes in Malaya followed, although not to the full extent, the UK pattern. In the UK, existing children homes provided by local authorities and voluntary organisations differed greatly in size, character, standard of care provided, and the extent to which children have the opportunity to join in the ordinary life of the local community. Many homes accommodated children of a wide age range and of both sexes, and the homes varied in size from small family group homes with eight to twelve

children to large establishments with several hundred children. Some of the medium-sized and larger homes were grouped “cottage homes”, that is, homes consisting of a number of cottages. In each cottage, a small number of children were under the particular responsibility of a housemother. Nevertheless, these children also shared in the life of the larger community.

With regard to the idea of cottage homes in the UK, Barnardo for example, had ‘effectively carried the [cottage homes] principle into the voluntary child care service’, and it was reported that ‘in 1876 thirteen of the planned cottages at Barkingside were formally opened, known as the Village Homes’ (Heywood, 1978: 53). Accordingly, the CYWSC even suggested the colonial territories to avoid large buildings when establishing new orphanages. The “cottage” plan with a limited number of residents for each “cottage” was considered ideal at this time. It was also recommended that children kept in institutions mixed with adults should be kept in a separate block or wing for their safety (CO 859/225/3). Meanwhile, in the UK, there were other homes of different sizes, which accommodated boys only, or girls only, or children of a limited age range, such as residential nurseries that were usually for children under the age of five.

Education and training

Children living in residential care were also given opportunities for further education. Every provision was made for children to attend outside schools. Training of a suitable vocational nature was made available for children who were so inclined and also for others who could not benefit from further schooling. Both the government and

voluntary bodies running the institutions provided training for children to ‘make these lads into useful citizen’ (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*).

In England, Heywood (1978: 35) conjectures that as early as 1830, a home in West Ham was teaching a trade to destitute children and who then ‘emigrated to the colonies under supervision’. A similar training method was used in Malaya but not for the purpose of emigration or moving children out from “unsuitable environments”, as practiced in England. Nonetheless, children in Malaya were taught many skills so that they could be self sufficient, independent, and use the necessary skills to be gainfully employed later on. The more important issue is that they could adapt themselves to society when they left the homes.

The government’s plan was to train the children from the home to earn a living for themselves (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*). Thus, the boys were given facilities to learn tailoring and carpentry in the workshop under the instruction of an experienced tailor and carpenter (K/KEB2). They were offered sufficient training in agricultural pursuits, mechanics and other crafts. However, this implies that gender bias activities influenced the idea of the training contexts at that time. Such was the case at the Selangor Children’s Home.

McDoull reminds all his staff ‘to take note and see how many other careers can be filled by girls’ under their care, so that there is no ‘tendency to think of domestic work as being the main if not the only prospect for girls brought up in children’s homes’ (DSW 1324/55). ‘There were many cases like this that happened and need not and should not be so’, as EWO 5 (2003) points out. EWO 2 (2003) also indicates this gender

affiliation with regards to careers when asked about the careers of children living in children's homes.

Reasons for admission

A large number of children continued to require residential care because of family problems due to economic difficulties and being orphans. As stated earlier in this chapter, children staying in residential care may have been destitute, vagrant, crippled, waifs or strays, or displaced and refugees children. Nevertheless, other reasons, for admission to the homes, were considered, for example, when the family breadwinner fell ill, became unemployed, or was incarcerated for treatment of chronic and infectious disease such as mental illness, tuberculosis and leprosy. It needs to be borne in mind that no child was removed into care if public assistance or any other kind of help or relief could keep the family together.

In England, at that time, children's admission into institutions was based on a family's inability to sufficiently provide for the children due to poverty, or if the children were orphaned. However, it was different in Malaya because admission to the institutions was not confined to children of one ethnic group but opened to all ethnic groups that existed then. The government and voluntary bodies had to cater for the Malays, Chinese, Indian, and other groups such as Eurasians as well. Thus, considering the needs of these children who were from various ethnic backgrounds would have affected the relationship between imported and indigenous thinking about childhood and childcare provision.

Conclusion

The chapter has revealed that the colonial government, through the establishment of the DSW, as portrayed in Chapter 5, provided relief to children in need of care and protection in children's homes with the assistance of voluntary bodies, such as the Salvation Army, the SCF, and the LMS. The government was able to create administrative committees to help supervise the development of children's homes. For instance, the Board of Management had taken the responsibility to manage the Selangor Children's Home. As an administrative structure by the colonial power, this board could constitute a platform to decide on the appropriateness of the importation and adaptation of British welfare ideas and practices within Malaya generally and towards the welfare of the children in particular. The setting up of this sort of committee would also provide an opportunity for the colonial government to discuss with the committee's members and decide on the best method to handle welfare issues of the local people. However, within the collected data, there was no indication that such a step had been pursued by the colonial government.

This chapter has shown that the colonial government diffused the idea and practices of children's welfare services in the UK when administering and developing the children's homes in Malaya. It is not inconceivable to think Western ideas and practises were implemented in Malaya because the majority of the Malayan welfare institution staff was British colonial officials who were either 'professional or semi-professional staff' (MacPherson, 1987a: 57). Furthermore there exists 'a generalized desire to take Western ideas was given massive impetus by the fact that staff in most [colonised] countries prior to independence, and in many cases after independence also,

were expatriate' (MacPherson, 1987a: 57). The chapter has shown the homes in Malaya had catered children from various ethnic backgrounds. Thus, the government would have needed to consider the indigenous thinking about childhood and childcare before providing welfare services to these children.

The pattern of the homes and the prefectorial systems within the homes, for instance, the Malacca Jubilee Boys' Home and the Serendah Boys' Home, were adopted from the UK. However, within the context of the training and education, some adaptations were done to fit the local situation, in particular to cater for the needs of the different ethnic groups.

Another point revealed in this chapter is that the British administrators began to realise that, parallel to the welfare services that were provided to the children, a particular policy to deal with varieties of cases should be established as a reference in their daily work.

The chapter also revealed the significant relationship between the government and the voluntary bodies in providing welfare services towards children, for example, the setting up of the orphanages and residential childcare provision. Thus, the relationship between the government and voluntary bodies was at the level of planning and at delivery of child welfare services as well. This support the view of MacPherson (1987c) that non-government organisations are particularly active in the aspect of social services involving children. In fact, various institutions and orphanages run by religious bodies and philanthropic organisations received grant-in aid. This sort of relationship between the government and the voluntary bodies indicates the residualist approach practiced by the government in the provision of welfare services to the children in

Malaya at that time. Thus, it can be said that the role of voluntary bodies had always been acknowledged by the colonial government since the pre-war years and their role is continuing being recognised even during the post-war years.

Having argued the role contributed by the voluntary organisations in the administration of children's services in Chapter 7 and this chapter, the next chapter will further discuss the contribution towards children's well-being in Malaya. The legislation relating to children and the training of social welfare workers will also be examined.

CHAPTER 9

CHILD WELFARE SERVICES: PART III

Introduction

Chapters 7 and 8 have revealed that rules were available for the colonial administrators to refer to when resolving cases involving welfare of children. Nevertheless, establishment of specific legislation was likely to have made the administrators' duty constructive. In relation to this, this chapter will focus on the British colonial administration pertaining to children's well-being in Malaya from 1946 to 1957. It will examine the Mui Tsai (1933), Children and Young Person Ordinance (CYPO) (1947), Places of Safety Rules (1950), and Adoption Ordinance (1952). It will also analyse training of social welfare workers by comparing the nature of training in the UK and in Malaya.

Legal Provision and Child Welfare

All legislations relating to children, as outlined by the Colonial Office during the period of 1946-1957, include and are closely related to welfare of a child. This section will examine some aspects of the legislation on child welfare.

Legal provision in colonial territories

Throughout the colonial territories, there is considerable amount of legislation that covered the needs of children. The legal provisions dealt with various issues that arose in connection to child welfare (CO 859/225/4). When the Child and Youth Welfare

Sub-Committee (CYWSC) was formed in 1950, they did not examine all the legislations in detail and, consequently, it was not possible for them to form an authoritative opinion as to the adequacy of existing laws. The government stated that 'unless any special provision to the contrary was made, legislation was applicable, where appropriate, to all ethnics in the territory concerned' (CO 859/373). With the great diversity of local conditions in colonial territories, the CYWSC was 'precluded from making any sweeping general recommendations which might not be capable of adoption in all areas' (CO 859/373). The government stressed that the CYWSC should not expect to put into operation every detail of the UK laws on the subject. However, there was no reason why local laws could not be modelled on those in the UK, in so far as it was practicable. Additionally, the government suggested that, if for various reasons the UK laws could not be applied, consideration should be given to adapting such provisions to meet local circumstances (CO 859/373).

Although legal provision was made to deal with various issues such as legislation for the protection of children, it was not fully implemented in some parts of the territories (CO 859/373) because it could not solve issues raised in connection with the welfare of children. Legislation covering all aspects of children's problem had not yet been introduced in some territories, despite the claim made by the colonial governments that they had taken action to ensure full enforcement of this legislation. When it was considered necessary, the colonial governments examined the new legislation to be introduced or revised existing legislation (CO 859/373).

In many territories, existing legislation dealing with children became outmoded, and might have been in need of revision. Some of the questions that needed attention

were, for instance, matters relating to the age of criminal responsibility and the age below which a young person cannot be sentenced to imprisonment. In many territories, the laws by which such matters were governed were out of step with modern thought and practice (CO 859/373).

Nevertheless, the relevant UK legislation often served as a useful guide for the provision of welfare to children, although it could not be adopted without modification in every territory (CO 859/373). It appears, however, that the colonial government did not seriously consider how officers were going to deal with local welfare circumstances, especially after the War, resulting in numerous constraints and issues the officers had to settle. For instance, the Emergency in 1948 retarded progress in implementing the legislation (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*).

Legal provision in Malaya

It needs to be pointed out that some ordinances and enactments concerning welfare services existed in Malaya prior to the Second World War, such as, the Children's Enactment (1922), the Women and Girls Enactment (1931), the Female Child Ordinance (1932), Mui Tsai Ordinance and the Aliens Ordinance (1935) (Lim, 1980). The Children Enactment (1922), 'provided penalties for cruelty by assault, ill-treatment, abandonment', and 'restricted child labour and the employment of children in public performances' (Woods, 1937: 186). Social issues among the Chinese community, as has been examined in Chapter 4, indicated that, although there was much legislation during that period, the British Government only took into account circumstances which involved welfare of immigrant groups.

The native and traditional laws were already in place in the Malay society during that time.¹ Nevertheless, the laws were still not adequately applicable to them in terms of coverage and authority. Presumably, this was due to the belief that traditional law was very “general” or “superficial” in the sense that it did not specifically state the extent of power, or limitation of power of the “chief” (that is, chief of the village). Within this traditional law, it was the role of the native chiefs themselves to decide what to do, or what actions to take when unfortunate circumstances befell the children. *Adat Perpatih*, (matrilineal Negeri Sembilan Malay customary law), for instance, adopted *muafakat* (a method which called upon all family members to come or meet together to discuss any problem at hand and collectively decide on the best way to tackle a problem) amongst family members. This method, among others, was employed by the Malay society to address problems relating to the welfare of a child. If they could not solve the issue, they would then refer it to the chief of the village. The issue would only be brought upon the *sultan* if it could not be resolved at the village level, since the *sultan* had the ultimate power at that time.

The Mui Tsai (1933), the CYPO (1947), the Places of Safety (1950) and the Adoption Ordinance (1952) were used as a basis for guidance and reference in certain cases involving children, for instance, of sending children to children’s homes. These four pieces of legislation will be examined in the next section. Although a whole range of legislation involving children was in effect, due to the limitations of archival data and the period of study covering only 1946-1957, the researcher has chosen only those

¹ Two systems of law were practiced, that is, the *Adat Perpatih* and *Adat Temenggong* (Temenggong Customary Law). These laws were very much influenced by Hindu religious elements and later by Islam; both laws were adapted according to Islamic rules (Fuziah and Ruslan, 2000).

pieces of legislation since they were the most important and had the most widespread effect on children during the period of study. Nevertheless, other relevant legislation is briefly considered where appropriate.

Legislation Involving Children in Malaya

Mui Tsai (1933)

Adopting a mui tsai at a tender age was a very common ancient practice and acceptable in Chinese society but was outlawed in the early 1930s (Woods, 1937).² Mui tsai 'constituted only one category of a larger group of children who had been transferred from their parents either in Malaya or in Hong Kong' (Woods, 1937: 226). In Malaya, the mui tsai system is to be seen 'in the context of the shortage of adult women for reproductive servicing, particularly in wealthy Chinese households' (Lai, 1986: 45). The trafficking of young girls was largely fed by conditions of poverty in southern China and Malaya (Lai, 1986: 46). Even though Lim (1980) argues that a mui tsai from a destitute family was not considered as a slave, in practice, she was completely under the will of her employer (Lim, 1980).³

² The Chinese word mui means "younger sister" and tsai means "little", "a boy" or "a girl". Woods (1937: 21 and 190) referred mui tsai as a 'little servant girl'. According to Ex-Welfare Officer (EWO) 3 (2003), a mui tsai, 'mostly from the Fukien province, was brought in as a "slave" or helper in Chinese high class families'.

³ The work of the mui tsai involved domestic services such as cleaning, washing, as well as providing company for members of the household (Lai, 47) where wages were rarely paid. In return, the girls would be given food, clothing, lodging and medical attention. Some mui tsai were treated like adopted daughters, but if the mui tsais were acquired for labour, they had to work long hours and were often ill-treated (Lai, 1986: 47). According to Lim (1980), the system 'was a form of transaction whereby young girls were traded and considered commodities where they were sold or used as pledges for loans' by their parents. The mui tsais were transported elsewhere at a profit to the traffickers who most of the time sold these girls to brothel-keepers (Lim, 1980: 105). These mui tsais would be released from their services on reaching marriageable age, that is, at eighteen, or when the debt had been settled by the girl's family.

Although the colonial government did not recognise the mui tsai system, it was still being practiced by the Chinese society. British officials saw the obvious dangers in any system that could degenerate into a form of domestic slavery, as this might well give rise to circumstances in which the child would need care and protection. Despite the mui tsai being illegal in Hong Kong and Malaya, social workers regularly visited the official wards of the Secretary for Chinese Affairs, as well as those children who were considered to be living in potential moral danger (CO 859/244/10).

As the trafficking of females became rampant, the government decided to intervene. To prevent the ill-treatment of young girls, especially mui tsais, in 1933 the Mui Tsai Bill was passed prohibiting the custody of mui tsai. Accordingly, all existing mui tsais had to be registered between 1933 and 1935 and eventually this led to the abolition of the system.⁴ Part of the Bill dealt with the protecting mui tsai from abuse and ensuring their wages (Lim, 1980).

The registration of mui tsai deserves special mention as a feature of preventative social welfare work amongst the Chinese community. The introduction of compulsory registration in Hong Kong reduced the possibility of exploitation because it emphasized that children had legal rights, and it led to periodic visits from Lady Inspectors charged with their protection. Inspections of mui tsai also applied to Malaya, and full-time Lady Inspectors were employed in the Straits Settlements and in the Federated Malay States, and Johore and Kedah. The inspection was undertaken by the District Protectors and Assistant Protectors who were assisted by the staff nurses of the Medical Department (ADM 2/9).

⁴ The number of mui tsais in Malaya was estimated to be around 7000 in 1922 (Woods, 1937).

The system of mui tsai was made illegal in Malaya in 1938. The minimum age limit for domestic service at fourteen was fixed by the Straits Settlements Children's Ordinance, passed in 1938-40. This Ordinance also prohibited child labour below that age. However, the Ordinance was not enforced because of the outbreak of the war.

As revealed in Chapter 5, the work associated with protection of women and girls, an urgent problem within the Chinese community, was formerly carried out by the Chinese Protectorate. However, after several meetings, it was decided that this work was to be handled by the DSW who could deal with issues and implement children's legislation related to safeguarding women and young children. Accordingly, investigations into mui tsai and "transferred children" ('female children under the age of fourteen who were living apart from their natural father or mother' (P/PEG1 CYPO (1947)) fell under the jurisdiction of the Department of Social Welfare (DSW) to ascertain that the mui tsai was properly cared for (CO 859/225/2). In this manner, the DSW had continued the works of the Chinese Protectorate.

In 1949, the works of the Chinese Protectorate was then incorporated under the CYPO (1947) which consolidated and extended the laws protecting young persons (Lai, 1986) when the war ended. The CYPO was invoked to deal with cases of ill-treated women and girls. It also provided for 'extensive powers' given to the Protectorate 'to deal with registration, acquisition and transfer of mui tsai, ...the detention of cases of ill-treatment, prosecution, and the inspection of [their workplace] as well as at immigration points to check against their traffic' (Lai, 1986:51).⁵

⁵ Registration and checks under the Mui Tsai Bill drove the system underground. Evasion of registration was widespread, with only a fraction of mui tsai registered (Lai, 1986). Owners took to disguising their mui tsai as adopted daughters when checked for mui tsai traffic at immigration points (Woods, 1937).

By the late 1940s and early 1950s, it was assumed there was no further need to deal with the mui tsai system and no further problems would occur. Upon reaching the age of eighteen, the girls involved ceased to be mui tsai (Purcell, 1967), and therefore passed into the general adult population (Lai, 1986).

Children and Young Persons Ordinance (CYPO) (1947)

The CYPO (1947) provided a valuable piece of social legislation in Malaya; its main purpose was ‘to protect the well-being and to provide measures to be taken for the general safety of children and young persons’ (Lee, 1989: 4).⁶ The CYPO comprised five parts, as depicted in Table 9.1.

Part	Context	Purpose
(1)	Preliminary	-
(2)	Welfare	Designed to safeguard the welfare of children and young persons, and to provide for the taking into care of those ill-treated and exposed to neglect.
(3)	Transferred Children	Designed to protect female transferred child from exploitation either as cheap labour, or for immoral purposes.
(4)	Trafficking of Children	Dealt with trafficking of children.
(5)	General	Dealt with various questions, that is, it allows the court to determine and declare the age of any child or young persons, gives the Chief Secretary power to appoint places of institutions as places of safety, etc.

Table 9.1: The structure of the CYPO (1947)
Source: P/PEG1 CYPO (1947)

⁶ As stated in Chapter 1, this study only deals with children.

The CYPO considered it an offence for anyone who had custody, care and charge of any child or young person to wilfully assault, ill treat, neglect, abandon or expose the child or young person to such treatment as may be likely to cause him or her unnecessary suffering or to injure his/her health. The punishment was two years sentenced to imprisonment, or a fine of \$1,000 (Malayan currency), or both.

Begging was an issue at that time. It was any conduct intended to induce 'the giving of alms whether or not there was any pretence of singing, playing, performing or offering anything for sale or otherwise' (P/PEG1 CYPO Section 3 (1)). It was an offence for anyone who had custody, charge, or care of the child to cause him/her to beg. The punishment provided for such an offence on conviction was sentenced to imprisonment not exceeding three months, or a fine of \$250, or both. The CYPO also authorised a police officer, or any person authorised by a magistrate, to take such a child to a place of safety (P/PEG1 CYPO Section 4 (1)). For example, Part 2 - "Welfare" gave limited provision for children allowed or forced to beg. One of the sections stated that 'A child so taken to places of safety,⁷ and also any child who seeks refuge and protection, may be detained in a place of safety until he can be brought before a Magistrate's Court' (P/PEG1 CYPO Section 5 (2)).

However, it seems that the statement 'and also any child who seeks refuge' in the Ordinance seems rather unclear. Accordingly, nowhere in the other parts of the Ordinance was there stated provision to enable a "Protector", that is, welfare officer (CSWO or AWO) to take a child into care without the child himself/herself asking for refuge and protection. Tunku Zainab (1958) explains that the DSW had limited power

⁷ "Places of safety" means any institution appointed under Section 34 (a) of the CYPO (1947).

when handling cases pertaining to children welfare. According to her, in cases that needed DSW intervention, if the parent or the child did not ask for involvement, the Department had no power to take necessary action.

The Ordinance was jointly administered by the Department of Labour and Industrial Relations and the DSW. The Children's Section in the DSW was responsible for administering the Ordinance. The Labour and Industrial Relations Department was concerned with safeguarding the health and interests of children and young persons engaged in manual work or employed in public entertainment. In the case of manual work, restrictions were imposed by rules made under the Ordinance which regulated hours of work, rest periods, type of work, and total number of hours of work and study, in cases where children were also attending school. In public entertainment, licences were issued free to child entertainers after they had been medically examined and fit for employment. Various conditions were also imposed on their employment, which included limiting the number of hours worked, ensuring a weekly holiday and savings, and providing for periodic medical examinations (*MLSWAR 1957*).

One of the most frequently mentioned sections in the CYPO (1947) concerned "transferred children". The Ordinance required registration of "transferred children" and visitation of such children in the homes to which they had been transferred (*P/PM3 FMAR 1951*). The CYPO gave the power and responsibility to the Protector to attend to matters relating to the child's welfare.

As stated in the Ordinance, any 'person who has or intends to have a transferred child in his care, shall forthwith notify such transfer or intended transfer to a Protector' (*P/PEG1 CYPO Section 14 (1)*). The Protector would then take necessary action,

including making relevant enquiry on the reasons for the transfer or intended transfer of the child, and on the suitability of the intended or existing carer (P/PEG1 CYPO Section 14 (3)). If, after the enquiry, the Protector thought it was not in the best interest of the child to be transferred or to remain in the custody of the person who notified the Protector, the child could 'refuse to accept the notification, and [the Protector] could order that the child be returned to, or remain in the care, custody or control of his father, mother, legal guardian,' (P/PEG1 CYPO Section 1 (4)). In one specific case, Ex-Welfare Officer (EWO) 5 (2003) noted that it was the part "returned to" which was impractical, because the natural parents or legal guardian usually could not be traced. This resulted in the Protector being forced to let the child remain where he/she was until the mother was traced, or alternatively the child has to accept notification. Additionally, EWO 5 observed that it was extremely difficult to decide what was best for the child. The child could remain with his/her present foster mother by whom he had been brought up and whom he/she had probably grown to love or the child could be removed from her. However, proving the mother's unsuitability was difficult because there may not have been obvious signs of cruelty or negligence towards the child, resulting in a lack of actual proof of bad behaviour (EWO 5, 2003).

Even though many provisions in the CYPO (1947) related to "transferred children", this was not a category that existed in the English Poor Law. Despite this being the case, the colonial government attempted to legislate for transferred children. In fact, the term "transferred children" was specifically applicable to the welfare of mui tsai in the Chinese community. Thus, it is clear that there was a specific section within Part 3 of the CYPO (1947) which was drawn up to settle welfare issues and needs of the

Chinese labour children in Malaya. This suggests that the colonial government were more inclined to take care of the welfare of the Chinese who formed a significant labour for the British (Leong, 1999).

Places of Safety Rules (1950)

“Places of safety” means any institution appointed under Section 34 (a) of the CYPO (1947) as one that is gazetted,⁸ that is, an orphanage, hospital, home, institution or a place approved for purposes of the Ordinance. Under CYPO (1947), a number of departmental and voluntary homes were identified as “places of safety”.

The CYPO (1947) stated that a child might be removed from his/her parents or guardians to a place of safety in cases of neglect, ill-treatment, or destitution so that children in physical or moral danger could be lawfully placed in children’s homes (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1947). Under the Ordinance, the Protector of children had the right to remove a child to a place of safety and care for the child until he/she reached the age of 18. Orphans and other children in need of care and protection were provided with training for their future employment. For these children, education was provided, where possible, in ordinary schools. A steady improvement in training and occupations were provided within the institutions (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1951) as discussed in Chapter 8. Places of safety had been admirably provided by voluntary committees of public-spirited persons interested in the well-being of children (FS 12948/1950).

⁸ ‘Gazette’ in the CYPO refers to the Malayan Union Government Gazette.

However, in the Places of Safety Rules (1950), insufficient provision and unclear directives were given to many of the Board of Governors.⁹ For instance, there was no provision for a Board to report directly to the appropriate Member of Federal Legislative Council on any major matters of policy or practice pertaining to children's welfare (DSW 10781). Consequently, the DSW was unable to achieve maximum improvements in the conduct of the homes and in the training and welfare of all the children in them. With the introduction of new rules, that is, the Places of Safety Rules in 1958, it would be possible for children in departmental homes to benefit even more from this expert interest. The rules would enable the Management of Voluntary Homes to work and cooperate with the Department without losing their independence and rights to maintain the homes (DSW 10781).

Within the Department, some administrative rearrangements were made to accelerate a clear-cut Children's Office under a Principal Children's Officer. One of the responsibilities of a Children's Officer was to concentrate on children's homes, which would be kept administratively separate from elderly and decrepit homes. The Places of Safety Rules (1950) only applied to institutions which catered for children sent to places of safety under the CYPO (1947); there was no legislative or other authority that addressed children being sent to elderly home (DSW 10781) even though this home was comprised of children as well. However, the current study is only limited to the Places of Safety (1950) within the period of 1946-1957, and thus further changes within Places of Safety (1958) are not discussed.

⁹ 'The Minister may appoint a Board of Governors consisting of not less than seven members for each place of safety of whom at least two shall be women and at least two shall be men. Such appointments shall be for any period not exceeding three years' (Places of Safety Rules (1958) DSW 10781).

Adoption Ordinance (1952)

Child adoption is a practice that has been institutionalised in many societies, including Asian society. According to Jones (1958), in the past, children have commonly been bought, sold, or simply given away, without legal safeguards. Before the war, EWO 3 (2003) revealed that ‘Chinese children were sold for around \$10 - \$20 [Malayan currency] to Malay families. The children were brought up well with love, and there were no reports of cruelty’.

In a similar vein, Jones (1958: 5) indicates that ‘the “red packet” involving money transaction for transfer of a child had been commonplace’. EWO 3 however, recounts what the situation was like immediately after the war:

Due to poverty, babies were given for adoption or given away and a small amount of money received. It must be recorded that they were not sold. It will be wrong to say so. Because they were sincerely given away with a heavy heart, with the greatest and honourable sacrifice in order to give them a chance for a much better life. There were very many wonderful examples from Chinese mothers.

(EWO 3, 2003)

One point of interest that concerns the inadequacy of rules with regard to children, namely, was that there was no law restricting parents from giving away their children. In view of this, EWO 5 (2003) points out that there were instances in which children, after being born, were “dumped” to various people. Unlike EWO 5, who mostly worked with children, EWO 3 reveals that other communities were also involved:

Indian children due to their colour were not easily sent for adoption, especially the boys. But, it cannot be denied that there were Malay families who were willing to accept them. Indian baby girls were adopted by Chinese and Malays.

(EWO 3, 2003)

Hospitals became centres of adoption through midwives and nurses. The bulk of the adoption work was among the Chinese (EWO 3, 2003). Thus, it can be said that adoption was a normal practice within the Malayan society during the time of study.

As mentioned in Chapter 8, the establishment of the Board of Guardians in 1946 had assisted the government to handle issues of adoption because of the 'lack of legislation to provide for the legal adoption of non-British subjects' (SS 329/46). Additionally, this suggests the existence of a relationship between the government and the public then because the Board was also comprised of members of the public.

In the DSW, one large section of work in the Children's Section concerned the adoption of children (see Table 5.3 in Chapter 5). The Department had to ensure that money transactions did not take place, and the suitability of the adopter and the welfare of the child were fully considered (Jones, 1958).

In 1952, the colonial government had set up two types of legislation involving adoption. They were the Registration of Adoption Ordinance 1952 and the Adoption Ordinance 1952. The Adoption Ordinance defined a child for adoption as an unmarried person under the age of twenty-one years, and included a female under the age of twenty-one years who had been divorced. Based on Section 4 (1) of the Ordinance, anyone older than twenty-five years could adopt a child. There had to be a twenty-one year age difference between the applicant and the child to be adopted. The applicant

must be either a relative of the child, or ‘the mother or father of the child’ (Adoption Ordinance).¹⁰

Generally, the consent of the parent/guardian of the child was required to support an application. Unless it could be shown that the child had been abandoned or neglected, or the guardian could not be found or was incapable of giving his/her consent, the government was given the authority to care for the child (Lee, 1989). Before making an Order of Adoption, the court generally ensured that the adoption would be in the interests and welfare of the child.

Lee (1989: 49) points out two important differences between the Adoption Act and the Registration of Adoption Act. Firstly, the Adoption Act ‘confers rights of property inheritance on the adopted child’, but this is not offered in the Registration of Adoption Act. Secondly, the Adoption Act does not apply to any person who professes the Muslim faith, but Registration of Adoption Act does’. The colonial government accepted that ‘quite a lot has been done towards producing another set of legislation to deal with adoption’, but there were ‘difficult[ies] to overcome concerning various religious customs. An expert committee has been sitting on this issue for the last two years. However, no recorded evidence was found in the collected archival materials to show that the British colonials had sat together with the local people to discuss and decide on legislative issues with regard to adoption in Malaya. In Malayan homes, for instance, children are adopted according to Muslim law’ (CO 859/224/7). Nevertheless,

¹⁰ “Relative” in the Ordinance is defined as “brother”, “sister”, “grandparent”, “uncle” or “aunt”, and in the case of an illegitimate child, its father.

as stated by EWO 3 (2003) ‘by law and tradition, no Malay babies were adopted by non-Muslims’.

Islamic law does not permit transmission of property rights to an adopted child. It should be noted that only relatives with a legitimate blood relationship to the deceased are entitled to inherit from the deceased under Islamic law. The Quran does not recognise any claim except those based on relationship through blood and marriage (Quran 8: 75). Thus, illegitimate children according to Islamic law and adopted children have no part in inheritance. Inheritance has been strictly laid in Islam, so as to avoid family arguments and battles over money and properties of the deceased.¹¹

Administering welfare programmes would need skilled personnel. The issues of training welfare staff will be discussed in the next section.

Training of Social Welfare Workers

Many skills were utilised in administering social welfare programmes and all the work activities. Social welfare workers¹² and teachers in the territories, including Malaya, needed appropriate training and qualifications. There was considerable variation in the social welfare field with regard to the nature of recruitment and training of social

¹¹ Although to bring up an orphan child is an act of charity which will be highly rewarded by Allah, the person who looks after an orphan should not call him his own child. The Quran is clear that those whom you adopt are not your true children. In this case, the child must retain his/her name and must be called after his/her father. However, if someone raises an orphan child, he can leave him a portion of his property by will. Every person is allowed to bequeath by will up to one-third of his property, but the beneficiaries of his will cannot include any of his heirs.

¹² The colonial government used the term “social welfare worker” that refers to “social worker” - those who hold a recognised qualification in social work or whom a full-time training in this field would be appropriate. In this study, the term “social worker” is used interchangeably with “social welfare worker” which also refers to British and local officials or personnel working in the DSW (Malayan Civil Service).

welfare workers, and methods of financing through the CDW Acts 1940-1957. Some of these variations are analysed in the succeeding sections of this chapter.

Colonial principles of training

The training of workers for child welfare was one of the subjects of the study for the CYWSC (CO 859/225/4; CO 859/373). The CYWSC recognised that work programmes would be conducted in a great variety of social situations, and asserted that it would always be necessary for social workers to study local conditions, to understand the people's values, problems and institutions.

The CYWSC considered that certain established principles should generally be accepted (CO 859/373), for example, recommendation that a certain number of Europeans be recruited for the training of workers within each territory (CO 859/225/2). The CYWSC believed that, in the early stages, it would be necessary to recruit European officers to train workers, who in turn could train others. It was suggested that a central organisation such as a Council of Social Services be established to warrant that trainees were properly used, and to recruit personnel (CO 859/225/2). Such a body should be set up in every territory, or alternatively, a pre-existing body should be engaged to extend its work to undertake this duty. All the Far Eastern territories already had an advisory body (CO 859/225/2) and in the case of Malaya, it already had a council, namely the Central Welfare Council (CWC).¹³

¹³ The CWC was established on 23/5/1946 with committees in each State and Settlement and District Welfare Committees (CO 859/224/7). The CWC was free from official control and received full government support for its work carried out with the assistance of the DSW. As an unofficial body, its functions were:

- i. to co-ordinate all existing welfare services.

The CYWSC observed that the work in the field of child welfare was neither coordinated nor carried out effectively. The CYWSC recommended making use of all appropriate voluntary organisations and all possible sources of assistance for the welfare of children. Because relevant voluntary organisations had received little official encouragement in the past, the CYWSC recommended encouraging the work of existing organisations as well as the establishment of additional voluntary organisations (CO 859/225/4), either from within the colonial territory or from outside (CO 859/225/1). The government recommended that voluntary organisations could be asked to additionally help by demonstrating forms of child care, ~~running~~ training centres, lending trained workers and giving experience and training in Britain to colonial workers, both in administrative and practical work (CO 859/225/1).

In some cases, social workers sent to the UK for training were not always able to apply what they had learned to the conditions prevailing in their own colonies (CO 859/225/2) due to differences that existed in those countries. Hence, the government took action when it realised this. With regard to the sending out of specialists to the territories, the government felt that too much attention may have been paid to familiarisation; in the case of Malaya, the specialists would have to learn the languages, customs and religions of the three major ethnic groups, which was undoubtedly no easy

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- ii. to assist and promote the efforts of the welfare workers in consultation with the State and Settlement Welfare Committees and with the government.
 - iii. to make recommendations to the government regarding financial or other aid necessary for the success of welfare work.
 - iv. to raise and distribute funds from the public for welfare work and to promote public interest in their responsibilities in this field (P/KEB1 DSWAR 1946).

The CWC had the dual functions of maintaining contact between the DSW and the public and of organising personal and financial help needed to supplement the department's work. It maintained its policy of grant-in-aid to welfare institutions in need of temporary support and in emergency cases, such as fires and floods (DSW 85).

task to accomplish. People needed were not only those who were right for the job, but also experienced and enthusiastic. In any case, as the specialist would be training indigenous personnel, it was likely that any difficulties of this nature would be resolved during training (CO 859/225/2).

However, this did not necessarily mean that all workers, whose primary function was social work, had full-time and systematic training. Due to financial constraints, training was available only to a few people. Effective action in this field of social welfare was frequently held back by lack of money and availability of suitable staff (CO 859/373). The colonial government helped territories to train and recruit social welfare staff, and fees were allocated from the CDW Fund (*The Sunday Tribune*, 4/8/1946) and UNICEF Funds.

In some territories, there had been complaints on the tendency to postpone any further immediate development in the field of child and youth. This postponement was due to the fact that in the memorandum on training of the Child and Youth Welfare in the Colonial Territories, the necessary set of procedures to handle welfare issues would only be provided when 'the climate of opinion was right' (CO 859/373). Thus, the absence of set of procedures to follow often meant improvisation of whatever procedures that were available, but it was considered better to improvise than to neglect essential work (CO 859/373).

The CYWSC stressed the urgent need for specialised training of staff in children's homes. It also realised the difficulty of stipulating that every newly recruited member of the staff, especially in voluntary institutions, be a trained worker. Thus, the CYWSC felt that some training in child care was essential (CO 859/373) and the

training should be carried out as soon as possible. As pointed out in Chapter 7, welfare services provided for the children was affected by the role of other groups of people, including mothers. Consequently, mothers of the children were given childcare training. Teachers engaged in the training of mothers in child care should be familiar with native customs, so that training could be adapted to the environment (CO 859/373; CO 859/225/4). Thus, these teachers possibly could understand why sometimes local people had refused to send their children to the available nurseries, as raised in Chapter 6.

Training needs

The process of helping people with appropriate social services to resolve a wide range of personal and social issues is nothing new in many societies. This kind of help has always been given informally by neighbours, friends, and philanthropists to help those who are unable to help themselves. However, the principles and practices of social work cannot be acquired by experience alone. The field is not simply a matter of relief, or giving temporary financial help or advice to clients. Social workers need specialised knowledge and certain skills, which can only be gained through formal training. The most basic skill, for instance, is the ability to counsel the client effectively. Thus, proper training is inevitably needed, and this has resulted in the emergence of the distinct profession of social work.

In the formative years of the DSW, the services provided were largely centred on the 'amelioration of distress' (DSW, undated). The staff in the homes and institutions merely served a custodial function. Social workers were primarily engaged in remedial work where some of the problems required social work intervention to

provide long-term care and support. One of the immediate problems was recruiting staff to undertake onerous responsibilities involved in the protection of women and girls because welfare officers must possess sufficient technical knowledge to grasp the principles and practice of the relevant ordinances (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1947*).

Personnel were also required to fill posts as Superintendents and House Assistants. All children's homes were managed by Superintendents. Candidates for the Superintendent post had to pass the Overseas School Certificates Examination and have at least six years' experience in institutional work, either within the Department or in voluntary organisations. The Superintendent's duty encompassed overall responsibility for the proper and efficient management of children's homes, including caring for the children in the homes, looking after their physical needs, supervising training, and organizing school hours. On the other hand, House Assistants had to have at least minimum educational qualifications, that is, Form III. Their duties were to assist the Superintendent in any work that might be delegated to them, particularly in being a father or a mother figure to groups of boys and girls (DSW, undated).

The CYWSC also stressed the strong need for specialised training of staff in orphanages. It felt that some simple training in child development should be encouraged. The CYWSC viewed that there should be at least one officer experienced in institutional work in each colony where orphanages existed. This officer, who could be trained by attachment to an institution in the UK, could then act as trainer, adviser or inspector. The view thus obviates the necessity of sending institutional staff to the UK (CO 859/225/3).

Since the DSW undertook more legislative responsibilities, such as dealing with CYPO (1947), a significant challenge was the shortage of staff (SS 224/48). The first year of practical application of the provisions of the CYPO was in 1948. It was anticipated that the CYPO would take several years before being fully effective because legislation very much depended on the adequacy of properly trained staff under the leadership of a qualified officer (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1948). In Kuala Lumpur, for example, there were less than seven qualified child welfare workers in 1955 (EWO 5, 2003). Furthermore, in the state's DSW, there was no separate children's section, and all children's work had to be done over and above the normal duties of the welfare officer. Later, however, three states and settlements set up Children's Sections, and towards the end of 1955, three of the Federations, and five Children Officer posts were filled by Malaysians who had completed their training in the UK (EWO 5, 2003).

Although the British colonial service had long-term intention of recruiting 'many men and women with the necessary experience' from the UK to work in Malaya, they failed to achieve this (PR 328/47). Obviously, there was 'a tremendous shortage of trained staff at all fields and in all levels' (CO 859/225/4), including officers, both at the headquarters in Kuala Lumpur and in the states and settlements offices (PS 77/49). As clarified in Chapter 5, the recruited staff, such as the CSWO who was 'without previous Malayan experience, had taken over the functions of the pre-war Chinese Protectorate, and had to cope with other social problems' (Gullick, 1997: 158). However, this situation was unavoidable since the British believed that local people were not qualified enough for the 'highly qualified administrative' posts (PR 328/47).

Table 9.2 indicates the number of Executive Posts based on the availability of the data, providing a general view of the situation in Malaya at that time. In 1948 for instance, there were 12 British officers; seven were males and five were females.

	1948	1952	1953	1955
British (Male)	7	3	4	3
Local (Male)	0	4	3	5
British (Female)	5	4	4	1
Local (Female)	0	1	1	4
Total	12	12	12	13

Table 9.2: Executive posts (CSWO, Deputy CSWO and Social Welfare Officer) in the DSW
Sources: P/KEB1 DSWAR 1948; P/PM3 FMAR 1952, FMAR 1953, and FMAR 1955

The number of posts taken by the British administrators was slightly higher than that of the local staff during the early stages of the DSW establishment. However, with the policy to recruit local people ‘to staff their own public service, and to make their contribution of experience’ (PR 328/47) in administering the country towards independence, the number of British officers went down to only four in 1955.

Ideally, it was within the British administrative specifications to appoint specific duty welfare officers, as indicated below:

The next step in progress depends on the allocation of specific duties to each member of the staff, e.g., a man must in the end have one job. He may be a Probation Officer, he may be a Welfare Officer for Schools or Prisons, but he is one allocated to such a job, he will not be available for the performance of miscellaneous duties, which he is called upon to do.
(PS 283/49)

However, in practice, the staff had to deal with the many duties in the department itself and fieldwork (casework), as well as advice families in all matters relating to the welfare of the child. These duties include:

...the registration and supervision of transferred children, for investigations into charges of neglect, ill-treatment, destitute and abandoned children....applications for admission to children's homes and determine the need for substitute care either in institutions, foster-homes, or with prospective adopters...and [responsibility] for assisting in the management of children's homes and acting as consultants to Institutional staff.

(DSW, undated: 28)

In the early stages, a welfare officer had to manage huge amounts of work in extremely large territories with very little staffing at all (CO 859/224/7). In the case of Malaya, EWO 5 (2003) claims that the officers were considered "multi-purpose officers" because they were also expected to perform miscellaneous duties even though they had been posted on recruitment to specialised services in the DSW. This notion of "multi-purpose officer" seems evident when a welfare officer had to address many issues along with the scope of his duties (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*).

In another example, Social Welfare Assistants were expected to assist the State Social Welfare Officer. However, in one case, the Selangor State Welfare Officer, S.R. Dawson, regretted the placement of Social Welfare Assistants in the districts when he found them unable to cope with responsibilities concerning the blind, public assistance, detainees, and couples involved in marital disputes (SS 199/53) although these assistants kept in close touch with the District Officers (DO), *penghulus*, and other government officers. The work of Social Welfare Assistants appeared such 'a fearsome

task to some, that they had attempted little or nothing' (SS 199/53). The welfare officers' responsibilities in the DSW were also unreasonable and burdensome because most of these duties did not exist before the war. Dawson admits:

...it is now obvious that I was expecting too much of men whose educational standard has not been high (and salary scale correspondingly low) and who have been proved to have little capacity for other than one specific job. If I were now to centralise all the work in Kuala Lumpur and train my Assistants for these specific job, I am limited by the number of Assistants I have available, bearing in mind that normally it is desirable for Malays to deal with Malays, Chinese with Chinese, and Indians with Indians. Moreover, my vote for transport and travelling would certainly not be acceptable.

(SS 199/53)

Dawson's statement above shows the difficulty in implementing the DSW's plan for future development of its services.

The recruitment of welfare personnel in Malaya, as Dawson pointed out, needed to be based on the needs of the three major ethnic groups. Prospective staff needed to be selected from each group to ensure their free movement and functioning in their respective areas. This has been highlighted in Chapter 4. These people would have a better understanding of their respective group's values and culture than the British officers who were less knowledgeable of the local group's lifestyle and had less experience living within a multi-ethnic society.

Thus far, the lack of qualified social work staff was considered one of the serious issues in the country. Although Malaya needed many qualified staff, this issue was not able to be solved easily by the government. It can be said that training of staff was increasingly difficult in nations where the general level of education was relatively low, as was the case with Malaya then. McDoull, viewed that no social worker is fully

qualified as a professional specialist unless he or she had taken an honours degree, a social science diploma, or a post-diploma specialist course. Most important of all, the worker had to have at least five years practical and successful field experience (SS 2859/52).¹⁴

Another issue then was the absence of an institution or a centre that could train social welfare workers. As a result, training activities were done outside the colonies.

Training in the UK

Because lack of qualified personnel had a profound effect on the development of the country's social welfare services, training local people to become social welfare workers was on the government's agenda since its reoccupation of Malaya. The DSW realised that there was a need for training of staff at least at the officer level during the first years of its establishment:

The immediate staffing position is very strained indeed and I (A.T. Newbould - Chief Secretary of the Malayan Union) suggest that we ask now the Colonial Office to recruit an officer, who will be able to take charge of the department and send him out as quickly as possible.
(SS 149/46)

For effective long-term welfare services rendered by the DSW, proper solution to the lack of staff was to train welfare officers in the UK. Accordingly, in August 1946, three applicants out of sixty-one (*The Malay Mail*, 24/7/1946), consisting of one Indian

¹⁴ Social welfare officers were required to be trained and possess at least a two years' basic diploma in social studies in addition to necessary experience, or a recognised general degree together with a graduate diploma in Social Studies.

man, a Chinese woman and a Malay woman, became pioneers and were sent to the UK to attend a two-year course in Social Welfare at the London School of Economics (LSE) (P/KEB1 DSWAR 1946). The three chosen persons were Miss Fatimah Musa,¹⁵ Mrs Then Chin Nyeen¹⁶ and Mr. F.C. Arulanandom (*The Malay Mail*, 24/7/1946).¹⁷ However, other reports stated there were four persons instead of three, including EWO 4 (P/KEB1 DSWAR, 1948; SS 84/49).¹⁸ Fatimah, indeed, became the first Malay to become a fully qualified social welfare worker (SS 84/49). These “gifted young people” were chosen under welfare scholarships designated for training locally born persons for social welfare work, under the supervision of the Colonial Office, for a period of two years.

The issue of having qualified social welfare officers was also voiced out by Mr Chinn who visited Malaya in 1948.¹⁹ One important point arising from his visit was the necessity for Malaya to have fully qualified social welfare officers in charge of the States and Settlements welfare services (SS 224/48). In a sense, the returned of those students who were sent for training in the UK had responded to Mr Chinn’s suggestion because when they returned to Malaya on completion of their course, they occupied important posts in the DSW (FS 12857/50).

In 1947, only two people were sent to the UK but the number increased to five in 1948. In 1949, six participants were sent to the UK, which included EWO 5. A

¹⁵ She was Assistant Supervisor of Malay Girls Schools in Selangor and organized the Selangor Women’s Association (*The Malay Mail*, 24/7/1946; SS 275/46). She died in 1969 (MASW (undated)).

¹⁶ Organiser and supervisor of Selangor Aged Homes was also a member of the Selangor SWO (SS 275/46) – passed away in 1963 (MASW (undated)).

¹⁷ A teacher at the Victoria Institution, Kuala Lumpur (SS 275/46) - deceased (MASW (undated)).

¹⁸ She had actually been awarded a Social Science Scholarship for two years to study in the UK on 6/10/1946 (DSW 79/52).

¹⁹ Mr Chinn was a Social Welfare Adviser to the Secretary of State in the Colonial Office (1948-1957).

further number of scholars were chosen to undergo similar training courses in England in 1950 and 1951 on UNICEF scholarships (FS 12857/50) and among those people were EWO 2 and EWO 3.

The training course in England, known as the 'fourth course' (SS 275/46), was specially designed for overseas students, started in September 1946 and included theoretical and practical work. Whilst the theoretical part of the course covered lectures, group discussions and individual coaching within London, the practical work, carried out during the vacations, was done in different parts of the UK to enable the student to gain experience in appropriate welfare organizations. The five main areas of practical work arranged for the students were:

- (a) An insight into family casework methods with voluntary organizations; practical work in an office of the Assistance Board and a Public Assistance; study of blind welfare methods.
- (b) Work in all appropriate youth organizations, attendance at their training courses and experience in their administrative offices; similarly with community centres and adult education organizations.
- (c) Visits to juvenile courts, approved schools, probation hostels and borstal; practical training with a probation officer and attendance at a training course arranged by the Home Office for their own probation staff.
- (d) Work in the labour department of a factory; training, practical and theoretical, as arranged by the Ministry of Labour and National Service for their own staff; study of miners' welfare work and seamen's welfare.
- (e) Visits to housing estates.

(SS 275/46)

EWO 5 (2003) disclosed to the researcher the course materials she still keeps, pertaining to the practical experiences during the course that she had followed at LSE, which included:

- (a) Children's Department Survey County Council (three weeks)
- (b) Women's Institutes (one week)
- (c) Youth work (one week)
- (d) National Assistance Board Area Office (two weeks)
- (e) Course on Cooperation (one week)
- (f) Girl Guide Camp (one week)
- (g) Probation (four weeks); and
- (h) Village Colleges – Cambridge (two weeks)

(EWO 5, 2003)

EWO 5 followed the same course of practical work as EWO 3, which gave particular attention to rural social welfare. As stated by the Colonial Office, the syllabus was specially adapted to suit the needs of colonial students and lectures were given by members of the Colonial Office (SS 275/46).

As one of the trainers who came to teach at the University of Malaya in 1952, Jean Robertson (1980)²⁰ claims that Malayan students formed the largest group of overseas' students taking social work courses at the LSE.²¹ It should be borne in mind that the government was concerned about the issue of sending local people to England because it believed there were enormous differences between the highly organised society of England, in which the institutions of the welfare state had reached a very high

²⁰ Jean Macdonald Robertson (1908-1974) made a significant contribution in the area of social work at the University of Malaya (Hodge, 1980).

²¹ Besides the LSE, later, other institutions in the UK such as Nottingham University and Swansea University (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1952) were also involved. University degrees and diplomas in social work, social studies or social administration were also taken in some Australian universities and in most universities in the UK and the US (Jones, 1958).

degree of development, and the small scale on which the ideas taught could be put into practice in Malaya. Furthermore, there were doubts as to whether such lengthy, expensive training could be justified because of the many years before anything on the English scale could be attempted (PS 283/49) in Malaya.

Limited financial allocation for social welfare has been argued in Chapter 6. Due to high expenses of the training in the UK incurred, only limited number of student were sent to the UK (FS 12857/50). It was reported that the government's expenditure on scholarships alone reached approximately US\$20,000 per year (FS 12857/50). Thus, the government decided to train the welfare officers in Malaya under local conditions.

Training in Malaya

Although the idea of local training could be regarded as an ideal long-term planning, the main difficulty facing the government was that the Federation had no training facilities (FS 12857/50). Nevertheless, a significant need was recognised by the government of Malaya for a comprehensive training course for locally recruited officers, in order to provide them with a sound background of the basic principles of social welfare functions and practice (FS 12857/50).

The government introduced the Headquarters Training Scheme through inter-departmental co-operation, and voluntary agencies also assisted (CO 859/224/7) the programme. The first comprehensive training course, for twelve scholarships candidates, commenced on 2nd January 1948, with special attention to accepting those

candidates with the 'right outlook' (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*).²² These students were trained within a general context that enabled them to deal with many different kinds of cases, a step which would increase qualified and trained personnel. The course undertaken is given in Appendix 5.

Voluntary and unofficial bodies co-operated as lecturers and provided facilities for the training of welfare workers (CO 859/225/1), working together with officers of many government departments such as the Health Department. The functions of voluntary associations might have well included the co-ordination of work of all trained staff, and the supervision or provision of training for welfare workers (CO 859/225/4; CO 859/373). One pleasing feature regarding the co-operation of voluntary bodies was shown at a Course for Matrons and Superintendents of Homes and Institutions held in Kuala Lumpur in December 1948 (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*).

British Red Cross workers, most of whom would have left Malaya after the Japanese occupation, were asked to train local voluntary workers during the remaining period of their stay in the country (SS 149/46). In the provision of nursery nurses' training, international organisations such as the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) assisted by financing twelve social welfare workers who concentrated on training for the physical care of children (CO 859/225/2). In addition, certain voluntary organisations in the UK intimated their willingness to send trained staff for limited periods to colonial territories to help with the training of local workers (SS 2859/52).

²² The candidate for field training should be physically strong, accustomed to being out in all weathers, a good walker, of cheerful and equable disposition and not easily depressed and should have other general education. He/she was also expected to have a School Certificate or Higher School Certificate for work demands on theoretical side (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1948*).

The government viewed that this two-weeks theoretical course had produced good results. The Training Schemes were expanded so that locally recruited officers who had a wide background of social knowledge and considerable practical experience could become qualified for highly skilled work (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1948). A further group of students were recruited in May 1948. However, with regards to teaching materials such as books, there was a dearth of reference books on social work in the Far Eastern countries including Malaya. Instead most of the books concerned social work in England and other countries such as the US and Japan. In one of the proposals to set up a training school for social welfare workers in Kuala Lumpur, a suggestion was made that 'a sizeable sum should be allocated for a reference library (FS 12857/50).

It was also proposed that the trainers 'will be recruited from the UK' and the proposal also stated that 'one of them should arrive in Kuala Lumpur at least two weeks before the opening of classes so that she could study local conditions, consult with government officials and help formulate an appropriate curriculum' (FS 12857/50). Having raised the issue of local familiarisation made earlier by the CYWSC, it was stressed again in the proposal that the locally employed social welfare personnel 'should have a thorough knowledge of the subjects they will have to deal with' in Malaya later on (FS 12857/50).

The plan for training staff was made possible with the establishment of a School of Social Studies in the University of Malaya (UM) in 1952.²³ Both the DSW and the UM's Department of Social Studies were to take responsibility for training social

²³ At this time, the University was located in Singapore.

workers.²⁴ Since the number of people who could take a university course was strictly limited due to financial constraints, departmental training was introduced as a first priority.

While the University took a leading role in the training, the DSW complemented by providing in-service training for different levels of their own staff and by seconding staff for training at the University (P/PM3 *FMAR* 1953). The in-service training in the mid-1950s became more systematised and formed 'a plan for cadet training [that] created a kind of "staircase" system, in which people could move through to the University' (Robertson, 1980: 71).

The course content involved 'an exposure to various tapestries of life, both urban and rural; to different ethnic groups; to different priorities in meeting social needs as between the then primarily rural and urban situations in ... Malaya' (Robertson, 1980: 74). It was believed that the characteristics of the course could certainly fit the local context. Theoretical knowledge was given on law, psychology, social conditions, casework, village hygiene, agriculture, rural industries and housing conditions. The practical sides of training included every aspect of fieldwork expected of a social welfare officer, such as probation work, work under the CYPO, General Welfare, Management of Homes and Institutions, Administration and Social Surveys (P/KEB1 *DSWAR* 1948) within 'a wider geographical and social setting in the community, the district, the aboriginal settlement and the housing estate' (Robertson, 1980: 75). Before the candidates were posted to the states in Malaya for further 'field work placements'

²⁴ Another government agency especially recruiting social workers at that time was the Medical Department, although Robertson (1980: 72) stated that a few social workers' found their way into the Labour Department'.

(Robertson, 1980: 75), they were expected to have some knowledge of family casework and be able to write clear, concise reports on visits paid, as well as keep accurate records and simple accounts.

Interestingly, Robertson (1980: 74) states that the training course was not 'modelled on any one overseas pattern'. In fact, it was meant as far as possible to 'meet the needs of this country [Malaya]' (Robertson, 1980: 74). However, Robertson (1980) did not mention that she had indeed analysed all the welfare models that could have existed in the 1950s. This could suggest that she, a social work official, was at least aware of the problem of applying the Western model of social welfare to the local context.

Discussion

Despite limited funding, the post war government took steps towards having more qualified social workers to manage children welfare services. For instance, the sending of local people to the UK and the training programmes within Malaya itself were 'in line with the need to Malayanise [and] move towards getting more indigineous training' (Robertson, 1980: 73). Through the training programmes of social workers within Malaya, the government was abled 'to secure, from the start, the co-operation of all Government Departments, and especially the Social Welfare Department with the University's School' (Robertson, 1980: 73).

As discussed earlier, in proposing new policy for staffing, Harvey held the view that social welfare workers should be properly trained and knowledgeable about the East, in relation to its religion and outlook. He suggested that workers could only derive

all this knowledge from years of experience in the field. A social worker new to the country should not only be very careful before implementing any new policy, but also needed to consult local opinion. Interestingly, Harvey exhibited an endeavour to understand the local cultures when he stressed that any attempt to apply Western experience without tempering it to local conditions and opinions would only lead to difficulties and resentment (MU 2247/46).

With regard to local acceptance of state assistance, Harvey pointed out the importance of local opinion in matters concerning their welfare, and he was cautious as evidenced by his remarks:

Ultimately however I am very chary of accepting state aid as a permanent feature at any rate in respect of such welfare organisations as in pre-war days existed in this country. New facets of welfare work are a different matter but in each case we must bear in mind the fact that local opinion and modern thought are not necessarily at one on this matter.
(MU 2247/46)

Harvey also revealed that the local Chinese in Malaya, at any rate, had never accepted works of this kind as an obligation to the country. In fact, it was questionable whether they wanted to accept the work because in doing so, it would mean that they would have to make a break with tradition (MU 2247/46). For instance, in order to maintain their own culture and tradition within Malaya, the Chinese built their own schools, erected their own maternity hospitals, and their own homes for orphans. In various ways, the Chinese, through their clans, exhibited strong independence of government aid in welfare matters. On the other hand, the Indians, according to Harvey, although generally accepted responsibility for the welfare and upbringing of the under privileged

and the neglected members of their community, indicated a willingness to accept the state's intervention in welfare services.

The study has revealed Harvey was not appointed as Chief Social Welfare Officer (CSWO) in 1947. Instead the colonial government appointed Dr Rawson. It should be pointed out that Harvey had long been in Malaya (see Chapter 5) and thus he should have better knowledge of local circumstances than Dr Rawson. Harvey too had served in the states of Pahang, Kelantan, Penang and Perak (see Appendix 4), and he would have vast experienced of living and integrating with the local communities. Therefore, he would have qualified to be appointed as CSWO instead of Dr Rawson.

It is worthy of note that Harvey was a university graduate (see Appendix 4), and so was Dr Rawson. The appointment of Dr Rawson signalled that there were some issues with Harvey's personality which resulted in him not being appointed to hold the post of CSWO. However, there was no evidence within the collected archival sources to provide the basis for appointing Dr Rawson as the CSWO. Nor was there evidence to explain why Harvey was not appointed to hold the post. By appointing a new person to be the CSWO, instead of Harvey, the government could continue to keep the provision of welfare to be at its minimum, targetting the needy, with the help of voluntary bodies because then it would not be necessary for the government to take up on Harvey's comments and suggestions regarding the need to consult the local people on their welfare matters.

Harvey had raised the need for [specific] welfare policy (see Chapter 5) in Malaya. He too had spoken out about the importance of knowledge about local circumstances among the welfare officers. If his views were taken up by the

government, on the one hand, it would have had funding implication because it would have needed research and repeated meetings to consider local needs within the welfare policy, which the government could not afford to do so (see Chapter 6). On the other hand, the colonial power would not have wanted to provide welfare to the people of Malaya at a similar, or almost similar, scale as what was being done in Britain, that is by resorting to a universal approach. Moreover, it needs to be borne in mind that Britain, a colonial power, had always considered itself (and its people) as superior (see Chapter 2) and Malaya was only one of its many colonies.

As indicated in Chapter 5, Harvey had raised the need for the government to consider local people's views with matters regarding their welfare. It has been argued (see Chapter 4) that the British presence in Malaya was more for economic exploitation and hence welfare was seen as a peripheral agenda (see Chapter 6). This concurs with Midgley's Social Welfare Model (see Chapter 2), which asserts that within colonialism, the colonial power focused heavily on economic exploitation of the colony and was less concern for social welfare objectives. The government then would need to focus on the welfare of those who could provide what it needed most; (see Chapter 6) the focus would be more on the Chinese, as a source of labour manpower to the colonial government. The welfare and well being of the Chinese labour (and their family as well) would have mattered most compared to the Malays (see Chapter 5).

The chapter also revealed that welfare issues associated with Chinese women and children, including matters involving mui tsai and transferred children (CO 829/225/2) were formerly carried out by the Chinese Protectorate before being handed to the DSW. Thus, in a sense, the DSW extended the Protectorate's work. This concurs

with the assertions of Robertson (1980) and (Davis *et al.*, 2001) that the DSW was an extension of the Chinese Protectorate.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined governmental legislation and training of social welfare workers. It has shown that the government attempted to implement an effective welfare provision towards children in Malaya and was concerned about the importation of UK welfare ideas and practices. The chapter has also revealed the underlying factors of resolving welfare provision such as religion, traditions, and values, indicating the need to modify UK welfare ideas and practices to the Malayan circumstances. Western ideas of child care and their needs, such as Bowlby's "attachment bond" and the international declaration of the rights of the child, as mentioned in Chapter 2, seem to have resulted in the sending of a few local social welfare officers to LSE because the issues of child care were prevalent in Western society then. Although their knowledge of local circumstances was insufficient, the colonial officers used their judgment as to what was right, trialling to see to what extent their ideas were workable and acceptable.

The chapter has also shown the absence of a memorandum detailing the work and procedures to resolve welfare matters in Malaya to be used by the welfare officers, which the government would only have done so 'the climate of opinion was right' (CO 859/373). Therefore, the steps and actions taken by the officers would have been based on their experiences and what they know.

On training of social welfare workers, the data in the present study revealed that the government did not dismiss the importance of the knowledge about local

circumstances as well as considering the needs of the local people. However, based on the data, no active steps were taken by the colonial government to examine and discuss the needs of the local people with representatives of the indigenous groups, even though the study showed the colonial government had sent a Malay, a Chinese and an Indian for training in the UK. This step suggests the colonial government had taken an initiative to train a representative of each major ethnic group. By doing so, the government had hoped these three candidates would be able to learn the UK welfare ideas and apply them to Malaya.

The content of training, both in the UK and in Malaya, consisted of theoretical and practical work. Voluntary bodies (for example, the British Red Cross Workers) contributed to the training programme by giving lectures and training facilities to course participants. One significant difference between the training in the UK and that in Malaya was regarding the places where the participants carried out the practical component of the course. In the case of the UK, the students were placed in different parts of the UK, and thus they would have been exposed to the UK welfare ideas and experiences. They would then have to translate these ideas and adapted them to the local conditions when they came back to Malaya. On the other hand, participants who were trained in Malaya, were placed at various parts of Malaya, in an 'unstructured as well as structured settings, where in addition to the traditional agencies, where there were supervisors, there was developed wider geographical and social settings in the community, the district, the aboriginal settlement and the housing estate' (Robertson, 1980: 75). Thus these groups of students have had the opportunity to gain a variety of

interests and experiences within the local context which would not be available otherwise.

The chapter has also highlighted the significant role of voluntary associations in strengthening the British social welfare provisions for children during the period 1946-1957. Efforts were made to maintain and establish voluntary associations working together side by side with the DSW. In fact, the government depended greatly on the support of the voluntary bodies. It demonstrated the recognition given by the colonial government to the voluntary agencies efforts in the provision of welfare to the children, and the residual approach practiced by the government in Malaya then.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

Introduction

The emergence of social welfare services, particularly child welfare services, has not received much attention from Malaysian scholars and students of social policies. Neither has it fared any better with scholars and students of social work. By contrast, literature on political and economic development of Malaya during British colonialism is plentiful. There is an array of books, journals, seminar papers, and theses on these matters.

A detailed account of the development of children welfare services in Malaya and the practices of the colonial government regarding the provision of welfare to the Malayan people during the period of 1946-57 did not exist. However, some authors (e.g., Midgley, 1981; MacPherson and Midgley, 1987) believe that colonial ideas and practices influenced the decisions and actions for resolving welfare issues within a colony. Nevertheless, no detailed study has specifically focussed on the development of social welfare services in Malaya during the years prior to its independence. This research has attempted to fill in the gaps and explain the circumstances that contributed to the emergence of child social welfare services in Malaya. This study has also responded to Midgley's (1984a; 1987a; 1987b; 1995) assertions that research on the origins of social welfare and social policy in developing nations is lacking.

The researcher adopted a documentary and qualitative methodology in this study. In so doing, the researcher has provided documentary evidence that suggests the

aftermath of the war prompted the colonial government to provide welfare services for the children.

The data collected within this study have provided detailed accounts of relief operations and the nature and characteristics of child welfare services in Malaya (see Chapters 7, 8 and 9). Likewise, the researcher has suggested two possible explanations for the emergence of child welfare in the country. First, the needs of Europeans and key workers (labourers) were the prime concerns of the colonial government (see Chapter 5) and consequently second, the government made attempts to adapt the host country's ideas about welfare to suit the local circumstances.

The core questions for this study were derived from the administration of the colonial government in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957. The questions are:

- i. To what extent were social welfare services in Malaya established and developed by the colonial government during the period of 1946-1957?
- ii. To what extent did the colonial government intervene in the child welfare services in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957?
- iii. Was there a definite child welfare policy drawn up by the colonial government during the period of 1946-1957?

This chapter will review the evidence within the collected data that leads to the answers to the above research questions.

Midgley's Social Welfare Model

Midgley's Social Welfare Model forms a framework to examine and explain welfare approach within colonialism. This model focuses on the colonial power's primary

concern for economic exploitation of its colony and less concern for social welfare provision. The model incorporated the notions of residualism about the approach to welfare and diffusion on steps taken to resolve welfare matters. A residual approach to welfare is characterised by welfare services only for the needy and colonial government intervention in welfare provision is minimum. At the same time, the government let voluntary agencies cater for the social needs of the people.

Based on the findings of this study, the researcher feels that Midgley's Social Welfare Model could be used to analyse the approaches to welfare in developing countries, including Malaya. Apart from being a developing country, Malaya was colonised by Britain, a Western power and Britain itself was a welfare state. Thus, Britain was rich in social welfare expertise, including in children welfare services. Moreover, since Midgley's Social Welfare Model was constructed within the colonialism context, Britain's construction and development of social welfare in Malaya would be better explained by this model. Accordingly, since this study involves examining the extent in which Britain's ideas of social welfare were implemented Malaya, the use of Midgley's model is justifiable. Additionally, this model incorporates the notion of residualism, a characteristic of the colonial government's approach to welfare in the Malayan context during the period of 1946-1957. This model could also generally explain the priority to economic exploitation of the colonial government administration during the period of 1946-1957.

This study has illuminated the claims of many scholars, (e.g., Hardiman and Midgley, 1982; MacPherson, 1982) (see Chapter 2), that the implementation of British social welfare services in Malaya during 1946-1957 was characterised by a residual

approach. The study has also supported Davis *et al.*'s (2000: 9) claim that in Malaysia 'the provision of welfare services was not a universal effort', that is, the welfare provision did not cover the larger population. Such was not the case with the British welfare state.

Establishment and Development of Social Welfare Services during 1946-1957

More than 150 years of British colonisation in Malaya has had a tremendous impact on the country's administration, economic, and social system. One result of this foreign domination was the exclusion of Malays in the distribution of modern services available mainly in the urban areas. The establishment of the Chinese Protectorate and the Department of Labour revealed the administration's substantial concern for immigrant labour, a vital force to a capitalist economy. As a result, the colonial government focussed more on the immigrants' welfare than on the locals' welfare. This situation significantly affected the Malays, for no institution or department was set up to manage their welfare.

It seems that the government believed that a department of social welfare for the Malays was not actually needed at that time, because they were not regarded an important labour resource, unlike the Chinese and Indians. Nevertheless, A. Malik (1977), the author of *The Malay Mail* column on 8 March 1901, challenged the British colonial power to concentrate on the conditions of the poor yet loyal Malays, as compared to the immigrants who admitted that Malaya was their second country. Instead, he argued that the immigrants enjoyed the prosperity and wealth of the country, even though their loyalty was questionable. The newspaper coherently suggested the

establishment of a Malay Protectorate which was similar to the Chinese Protectorate (A. Malik, 1977). Nevertheless it just remained a suggestion since a protectorate of any form was not established by the British for the Malays during the pre-war years.

The war played a major role in influencing the way in which issues of development and welfare were resolved in the post-war period in Malaya and Britain. Although both countries had experienced war, unlike Britain, Malaya was occupied by the Japanese (1942-1945) during the war. Thus, the aftermath of the war on the Malayan people was different from British as they were not experiencing the Japanese occupation.

As Chapter 4 suggests, Japanese occupation had worsen the conditions in Malaya which had caused a vast number of orphans, destitute, displaced and distressed victims of the war. Poor nutrition and harsh conditions took a heavy toll among those recruited to work on Japanese projects Burma-Siam Railway (Kratoska, 1998). Besides, the situations then were so appalling that traditional welfare services could not cope with the needs of the war victims (see Chapter 5). Thus, the government had to intervene to provide relief. Therefore, it can be said the Japanese occupation, in some respects, contributed towards the establishment of social welfare services in Malaya. It is probable the British may not have provided welfare services (with the establishment of the Department of Social Welfare [DSW]) if the Japanese occupation had not devastated the Malayan society.

The British were seemingly complacent about their current administrative status in Malaya prior to the Japanese occupation. However, when the Japanese occupied Malaya, the British reputation as a strong empire was blemished. On the one hand, the

Japanese occupation in Malaya can be considered a blessing in disguise (Fuziah and Ruslan, 2000) because it brought about a lesson 'that imperialism was not a European monopoly and Asian powers could also adopt imperialist policies, and a sense that freedom from colonial control was possible' (Kratoska, 1998: 356). The defeat of the British showed that an Asian country could defeat a European power, and the spread of political awareness and nationalist feeling gave rise after the war to an anticolonial spirit among the Malays (INTAN, 1991). Thus, the Malays became politically aware, rose to oppose the Malayan Union (1946) which was introduced after the occupation.

On the other hand, as discussed in Chapter 4, ethnic tensions of the pre-war were aggravated during the Japanese occupation because Malayan people struggled to provide for themselves and their families in the face of food shortages, poverty, poor health and general uncertainty (Andaya and Andaya, 2001). As a result, the Japanese were blamed for instigating racial antagonisms in Malaya (Kratoska, 1998: 361). Moreover, the cause of the tensions can be traced to the unequal standing of Malays and Chinese in the eyes of the Japanese as Malays were treated more favourably than the other ethnic groups (see Chapter 7).

The Department of Social Welfare

As a politically and economically weakened Britain emerged from the Second World War, an important change took place in 1946. The government began to grapple with the fact that the post-war world was radically different and that the "empire" was no longer acceptable in the new international morality (Rampersad, 1979). As was highlighted in Chapter 6, the colonial government eventually began to seriously

contemplate the possibility of transforming some of its colonies into self-governing dominions. Despite the fact that the colonial government had the need to exploit Malayan economic resources to help solve the financial constraint it was facing after the war, it also felt the need to prepare its colonies, including Malaya, to be responsible for social welfare matters as well.

Although it was reported that the Department of Labour was abolished in 1930s (see Chapter 5), however, it was not officially closed. There were no data within the collected materials that stated when this department was reopened. With the closure of the Protectorate in 1945, the Department of Labour absorbed the works of the Protectorate (see Chapter 5). As a result, a specific department to cater for the immigrant labour in Malaya was established. Having one department was much easier and could reduce the administrative cost for the colonial government to settle labour welfare issues at that time. It can be argued that the high administrative cost was a reason why the DSW was initially set up under the Department of Labour. This would also justify the appointment of McDoull as CSWO, who had the background and experience of working in the Chinese Protectorate since 1936, and in the Labour Office in 1945. The colonial government would have seen him as the appropriate person to be appointed as the CSWO after Rawson because of his wide experience in working within the labour's welfare in Malaya. Thus, in a sense, the DSW extended not only the Protectorate's but the labourers' work and welfare in Malaya. This concurs with the assertions of Robertson (1980) and (Davis *et al.*, 2001) that the DSW was an extension of the Chinese Protectorate.

The year 1946 was a watershed in Malaya's social welfare development because the Colonial Office reformed its organisation in response to the challenges created by the war (see Chapter 6). Thus, the period of 1946-1957 saw changes in the administration and establishment of welfare services, including the founding of the DSW in 1946. The objectives of the DSW were to assist displaced victims of the war and devise solutions for immediate post-war social problems, including the well-being of children. Thus, the commencement of the DSW in 1946 could be seen as a significant move by the government to resolve the welfare issues within Malaya.

The aftermath of the war was an "eye-opener" for the colonial government because only then did it begin to acknowledge the need for welfare services for children. Issues regarding orphans and displaced children brought about the concept of institutionalising needy children in Malaya. Additionally, the construction of the "Death Railway" contributed towards the need to seriously consider the welfare of the children.

The research has also shown that the DSW as 'a specialist Department' (PS 283/49) was not successful in managing welfare matters pertaining to the Malayan people. Two reasons accounted for this. Firstly, the DSW struggled in terms of its activities, functions and management. Secondly, broad interpretation of "welfare" resulted in the DSW's unfocussed responsibilities. Both were argued in Chapter 5. The aftermath of the Second World War resulted in the colonial government's initiation to develop the country (see Chapter 5). Furthermore, colonial policies were instituted by the government to accelerate political and economic regeneration and improve the welfare of all. However, these policies were only in the form of directives and memorandums circulated among colonial officers.

The Extent of the Government's Intervention in the Welfare Provision

During 1946-1957, in the UK, it was reported that 'the state (central and local government) assumed a large measure of responsibility, control and supervision' (CO 859/373) the provision of welfare to the British people. The present study also revealed that 'there is a great proliferation of service exemplified by the many categories of social workers employed in both statutory and voluntary services' (CO 859/373). Thus, it can be said that in the UK, the government recognised the services rendered by voluntary bodies and also oversaw the development of welfare services.

In Malaya, the government's role in the provision of welfare also changed after the war. It began to take charge of the welfare work that had been, to a considerable extent, sustained and managed by voluntary bodies preceding the war. The government intervened by supporting the establishment and operation of some children homes and by encouraging voluntary and non-governmental bodies to aid in providing welfare services for children. This collaboration is evident in the founding of the three children's homes as discussed in Chapter 8. Nevertheless, the colonial government's involvement in the provision of child welfare services in 1946-1957 was minimal and welfare provision was provided to the needy group only such as orphans, destitute and delinquent in the homes administered by the DSW, whereas the bulk of the welfare work (forty-eight homes) was still undertaken by the voluntary bodies as shown in Appendix 2. Thus, it can be said that the government was engaging in a residual approach to social welfare.

Finance was an issue faced by the colonial government. It can be argued that, due to financial difficulties in the aftermath of the war (see Chapter 6), the colonial

government called on various voluntary bodies, private industrialists, and philanthropists to support their effort to implement child welfare services in Malaya. Non-governmental organisations (NGOs), such as the Central Welfare Council (CWC), were encouraged to 'carry a large share of the burden of social welfare' (Hardiman and Midgley, 1982a).

Within Chapters 6 and 9, the research also discovered that Britain would not have favoured spending large amounts of money on the development of its territories, including Malaya. As it was, it was found that too much money had already been spent on social welfare, the least favoured sector compared with other sectors, such as education and health (see Chapter 6).

Government's Approach to Welfare Provision

The present research has illustrated the modes in which welfare ideas and practises of the UK were diffused. The milk scheme (see Chapter 7), the establishment of cottage homes, and the introduction of the prefect systems in these homes (see Chapter 8) have revealed the tendency to diffuse colonial ideas and practices through direct imposition. However, in other instances, the transfer of welfare knowledge, ideas and practices was done by modifying and adapting them to fit the local circumstances, needs and culture. The findings in this study support Midgley's (1984a) assertion that the diffusion of the colonial government's welfare ideas, practices and experiences took place in either an 'uncritical replication of alien welfare policies,' or through a mode of diffusion that would be described as a 'discerning adaptation of foreign experience' (Midgley, 1984a).

Circumstances in which colonial welfare ideas were imposed or adapted will be pointed out later in the chapter.

This study has further revealed that the colonial government practised a residual approach to social welfare services in Malaya and provided limited welfare services for the relatively needy groups of people (see Chapter 2). This is in line with the views of researchers like Rodney (1972), Hodge (1973), Midgley (1981; 1990), MacPherson (1982; 1987b), Hardiman and Midgley (1982a), and Harper (1991) (see Chapter 2) who assert that social policies and welfare services in the colonies were not only limited in scope but also were characterised by a residual nature. Though they did not specifically refer to Malaya, nevertheless the current study findings had supported their assertion.

The study has also provided evidence that, during 1946-1957, the welfare provision for children was profoundly dominated by voluntary associations (see Chapters 7-9). The evidences are provided below.

- (i) The significant involvement of voluntary organisations such as the Salvation Army, Save the Children Fund, Red Cross, St. John Ambulance Brigade, London Missionary Society, and Roman Catholic Mission (see Chapters 7 and 8) in the provision of welfare for Malayan people. This supports Midgley's (1981), Hardiman and Midgley's (1982b), and MacPherson's (1987b) contentions that the colonial authorities let the church, missionaries, and voluntary organisations meet the social needs of their subjects.
- (ii) The Places of Safety (see Chapter 9) had been admirably provided by voluntary committees of public-spirited persons interested in the well-being of children (FS 12948/1950).

- (iii) The recommendation that voluntary organisations assist the government by demonstrating forms of child care, running training centres, lending trained workers and giving experience and training in Britain to colonial workers, both in administrative and practical work (CO 859/225/1) (see Chapter 9).
- (iv) The establishment of an orphanage by SCF for the accommodation of war orphans and its initiation and maintenance of the Serendah Boys' Home. The funds were derived from voluntary subscribers in England (SS 84/49) (see Chapter 8).
- (v) The support of voluntary agencies by grant-in-aid (see Chapter 8). For instance, as reported in 1951, thirty seven institutions and orphanages run by unofficial bodies received grant-in-aid which cared for some 3000 children (P/PM3 *FMAR 1951*).

The government assumed that it could always depend on voluntary bodies to handle children welfare issues. In so doing, the government could concentrate more on the exploitation of the Malayan economy, as pointed out in Midgley's Social Welfare Model (see Chapter 2), colonial power focussed more on exploiting the colony's economic resources. Thus, it can be argued that during 1946-1957, the government assumed that issues of children welfare and children homes could be resolved by voluntary bodies.

Attending to Issues of Child Welfare in Malaya

The present study conjectured that no definite policy of child welfare was instituted in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957. It was found that the colonial administrators attended to issues of welfare based on their own knowledge and experiences. The circumstances within the data pointing to the absence of a definite policy are given below.

- (i) The point made by the DSW Annual Report that each state and settlement had to resolve its own problems as it deemed appropriate since there was no definite welfare policy (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1947*) (see Chapter 5).
- (ii) The report made by Dr Rawson which highlighted the absence of a definite policy for the establishment of Children's Homes and regulations on the type of individuals to be admitted into these homes. Neither was there a written specification for the qualifications of the staff (SS 224/48) (see Chapter 8). Accordingly, he pointed out the necessity for formulating a long-term welfare policy immediately.
- (iii) The remark made by Dawson: 'As far as I can discover, there is nothing on my fields about the general policy for the DSW which has been approved by the state government' (SS 199/53). This remark is suggestive of the absence of an approved policy to be used to resolve child welfare matters for the DSW (SS 199/53) (see Chapter 5).

It can be said that the absence of documented social welfare policy for Malaya resulted in the diffusion of British welfare ideas and practices in Malaya.

Diffusion of Colonial Ideas and Practices

Prior to independence, the government began to think of local needs and circumstances when rendering welfare services to the Malayan people. In fact, the colonial government officers, for example Harvey, had similarly thought so. The study illustrates the diffusion of colonial welfare ideas and practices operated through the mode of adoption and adaptation, whereby the UK's welfare ideas and practices were considered and translated into local context.

The extent of diffusion

The study has revealed some of the Colonial officers' views regarding the extent of implementing the government's welfare ideas and practices in Malaya (see Chapter 9). Harvey, a colonial official, was aware of the need to avoid direct imposition of the UK's welfare services and warned that any attempt to apply Western experience without tempering it to local conditions and opinions would only lead to difficulties and resentment (MU 2247/46). He, thereby, implied the need for the translating of these ideas to fit the local context.

As suggested by Harvey, 'it is only after careful consultation that the state should interfere in custom on religion and age-long tradition' (MU 2247). This consultation could have been part of the translation process that took place before any policy or activity was implemented. However, within the available data collected, it appears that the government did not consult with the local people in regard to adopting the British welfare ideas and practices. In fact, in certain cases the colonial government failed to conduct thorough research regarding the culture and various religions of the

Malayan people. This may have been because of time and resource constraints since other socio-political and economic issues needed greater attention, such as the communist insurgency that took a considerable period of time, from 1948 till 1960, and was costly. The other reason could be due to the attitude of the British colonial government that viewed their colonised subjects as inferior beings and therefore not worthy of consultation.

The issue of funding also had an impact on the extent of the colonial government's provision for social welfare and its growth in Malaya. Accordingly, funding was a constraint that hindered the colonial government's ability to proceed with the establishment of a documented social welfare policy, including a policy for child welfare. This financial constriction was raised by Dawson, who was uncertain whether a policy at State level was necessary or desirable at that time because of 'the considerable limitations imposed on its scope by lack of funds' (SS 199/53).

Adoption of Colonial Welfare Ideas and Practice

The study has revealed that there were circumstances in which the colonial government imposed the UK's welfare ideas and experiences in Malaya during 1946-1957. Examples are highlighted next.

- (i) The introduction of the milk scheme for children (CO 997/16) (see Chapter 7).
- (ii) The setting up of an Approved School for boys, which Dr Rawson claimed was another name for Borstal, as in Britain, and the opening of the Telok Ayer Tawar Camp School (see Chapter 7).

- (iii) The setting up of crèches and nurseries for pre-school age children (CO 859/225/4) (see Chapter 7).
- (iv) The establishment of a special section to attend to matters regarding crèches and nurseries as suggested by Dr Soo Kim Lan (SUKT 388/46) (see Chapter 7).
- (v) The design of preliminary architectural plans for the Children Homes in Malaya based on the cottage system in the UK (P/KEB1 *DSWAR 1958*) (see Chapter 8).
- (vi) The fact that the Serendah Boy's Home/School was organised on English school lines with the prefectorial systems (see Chapter 8).

On the adoption of British welfare ideas and experiences, the milk scheme for children (see Chapter 7) for instance, despite being a new diet for the local children, had gained popularity among them and had improved their health. However, the milk scheme was abandoned because of financial and administrative reasons. In another case, both the urban and rural parents supported the setting up of crèches and nurseries (see Chapter 7).

Nevertheless, initially, some of the British welfare ideas were not welcomed by the local people, as was the case with the tinned meat and accommodation in the destitute homes and orphanages (see Chapter 7). The villagers objected to these services on religious grounds. The failure of the government to fully understand the values and the beliefs of the local people also contributed to the early rejections of the welfare provisions. Although the government faced some early retaliation from the local

Training of workers

- (i) The recommendation of the CYWSC to recruit a certain number of Europeans for the training of workers within each territory (CO 859/225/2). The CYWSC recognised that work programmes would be conducted in a variety of social situations and asserted that it would always be necessary for social workers to study local conditions, and understand the people's values, problems and institutions (CO 859/225/4; CO 859/373) (see Chapter 9).
- (ii) The training of welfare officials and social welfare workers to adapt to the needs and circumstances of the local environment (see Chapter 9).
- (iii) Emphasis on understanding of local cultures and getting local consultation by the colonial administrators (see Chapter 9).
- (iv) The government's belief that welfare officers should be trained in Malaya under local conditions and that locally employed persons should have a thorough knowledge of the subjects that they would have to deal with (FS 12857/50) (see Chapter 9).
- (v) Understanding of native customs in training staff in children's homes and also in training mothers in child care (CO 859/373; CO 859/225/4) (see Chapter 9).
- (vi) Adaptation of the training syllabus to specifically suit the needs of colonial students even though the lectures were given by members of the Colonial Office (SS 275/46) (see Chapter 9).

Education of the children

- (i) Provisions for Chinese and Tamils classes for non-Malay boys in the morning at the Serendah Boy's Home whilst Malay boys attended the government Malay school. Religious instruction was also provided according to the individual's faith (SS 540/480) (see Chapter 8).
- (ii) Vocational training, for example growing local vegetables and fruits, rearing pigs, ducks and goats. Training was also given in carpentry, tailoring, elementary mechanical engineering (FS 12909/50). Girls were taught sewing of small garments and cooking (SS 499/49).

On welfare matters, the measures undertaken by the government suggested the government did not have specific welfare guidelines for Malaya that could be relied on when resolving welfare matters that arose. Thus, the government resorted to adapt existing legislation and adapted British welfare ideas to suit the local circumstances. On training workers, the government showed a move to consider its welfare ideas and practices that were worthy of being translated and adapted to suit local context. In providing education and training to the local children, the government had tried to provide for them according to ethnic groups and their local environment as well. However, the colonial government made no serious attempt to document specific guidelines for the welfare officers to resolve welfare issues. This is an indication that the government considered the issues of welfare as peripheral.

Thus far, the evidence provided indicates that the mode of diffusion practiced by the colonial government during the period of 1946-1957 involved the process of

translation and adaptation. Hence Midgley's (1981) assertions that within colonialism, knowledge and skills were identified, selected and modified before resolving local issues is accurate. The government, in short, subscribed to the adaptation of social welfare policies and practices through the exchange of information and views. Consequently, the development of policy and practice was shaped in response to local needs.

Reflections on the Research Process

Data for this study were taken from available primary and secondary sources collected from archives and other related institutions in Malaysia and the UK. It could be said that the researcher did the job of a historian in dealing with the archive sources and documents. The findings helped "fill in the gaps" on the literature about the development of social welfare services in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957. As these sources never "speak for themselves", the researcher made them "come alive" once again. These sources were administrative documents of the past, with contents the researcher had analysed and examined and presented them based on her interpretation.

As a supplement to the archival data, interviews were also carried out. Four pioneer social welfare workers and one archive officer were interviewed. Although earlier researchers (e.g., Shamsiah, 1981; Siti Hawa, 1983) had touched on the growth of social welfare services in Malaya, however, they had had not used archival sources in their work. Nor had these researchers been to the archives, or read through archival materials, or talk to officials. It can be argued that the historical method used in this study can be considered as unusual because most researchers who used this method in

Malaysia had used it within the domain of history but not within the domain of social work or social welfare. Furthermore, most previous studies on Malaya between 1946 and 1957 have emphasised the economic and political aspects of British colonisation (see Chapter 2). Nevertheless, the historical method has allowed the researcher to apply Midgley's Social Welfare Model in the context of colonialism by using empirical historical data to explain the development of social welfare in Malaya. The historical materials have indeed illuminated this model.

Limitations of the Study

This study is basically limited to the available data (Gay, 1996). As pointed out by Hakim (1993: 136), 'the design of research based on administrative record involves a large element of knowing what is available, and making the most of it'. Accordingly, it is acknowledged that the nature, type and quantity of materials collected are limited, highly dependent upon formal materials on the British administration which are kept only at various archives in the UK or Malaysia.

Thus, in a sense, the researcher had access to only historical documents written from the perspective of those ruling parties. The collected evidence 'that has survived from the past was generally written and recorded by those in powerful positions of authority. As such, it is official history' (Gladstone, 2003: 26). Likewise, it is possible that only selective data is available within archives while other relevant records may have been destroyed for confidentiality reasons. As exemplified by Gladstone (2003):

For example, while much documentary evidence exists concerning the Poor Law, one of the key agencies of British social welfare in the past, there is comparatively little recording the experiences and reactions of those who were on the receiving end of its policies as paupers, whether living at home or in a workhouse. The sources of historical evidence, that is to say, are more often “top down” records of policy makers and administrators rather than “bottom up” accounts of the impact of their decisions on the lives of ordinary people.

(Gladstone, 2003: 26)

But Gladstone is actually wrong in saying that there is little recording of the experiences of those on the receiving end of the English Poor Law. In fact, there is more social history in the UK now written from the perspective of Poor Law recipients than there is discussion of those who legislated for and administered the law. That is because the testimony of applicants for relief have sometimes been preserved, and historians have done a great deal with what they imply in their narratives. However, this kind of evidence is not available from the Malaysian perspectives. The data collected from the Malaysian archives were official records and the researcher was not able to access historical information from the perspective of the Malayan welfare recipients. Nevertheless, Gladstone’s (2003) point is pertinent to the oral history interviews used in the study. Although those interviewed within this study were themselves civil servants, they were directly involved with the implementation of the colonial government’s social welfare policies. It can be said that even though the testimony was not from the powerful, it can be argued that their views had provided insights and supported the documentation of the powerful kept at the archives.

It is acknowledged that the experiences of the welfare recipients would have provided clearer and more significant information about the issue of welfare provision

and could have served as a 'triangulation procedure' (Gay and Airasian, 2003) within this study. However, further research would be needed to address social welfare issues from the perspective of the people who had benefited from the services.

The researcher also acknowledged that the interviews carried out were not in-depth and the questions asked were limited (see Chapter 3). Moreover, the researcher did not succeed in obtaining interviews with either Chinese or Indian welfare officials who were involved in social welfare services in Malaya during the period of study or during the British rule. Their involvement in this study would have provided views and experiences representing other major ethnic groups within that period. This, too, would need further research.

Implications of the Study

Social welfare provision

Malaya gained its independence in 1957. From this year onwards, Malaya itself was responsible for its population. After independence, it was up to the Malayan government to create and implement policies, including social welfare policies, and make changes or adaptations to the policies that had been legislated during the period of 1946-1957.

This study has shown that Malaya had a very complex social structure, by way of contrast to Britain (see Chapter 4), because of the different cultural values and practices of three major communities. Thus, the main issue that Malaya faced was the formulation of a definite social welfare policy that could be applied into each ethnic community. It may be argued that the existence of a multiethnic society had a

significant effect on the establishment and execution of social welfare services in Malaya.

The lack of ethnic unity could be seen as an effect of the discriminative administrative practices by the British (see Chapter 4). The introduction of an economy according to ethnicity by the British (see Chapter 4) had brought about an economic imbalance among the ethnic groups. 'The poor economic condition of the Malays as well as the notable economic differences between the Malays and the Chinese was unsatisfactory' (Roslan, 2005: 10). Thus, from an economic perspective, the May 13 Incident, which was indicated in Chapter 4, could be seen as partly a result of long standing economic dissatisfaction, especially among the Malays who perceived that the Chinese controlled a large portion of the Malaysian economy.

Voluntary bodies and social welfare services

This study has shown that non-governmental bodies significantly contributed to the development of early social welfare services in Malaya. The study's findings thus support the viewpoint of Hardiman and Midgley (1982b) and MacPherson (1987b) who claimed that provision in the early welfare services was not provided by the colonial governments but by missionary organisations such as the London Missionary Society (LMS). In the case of the Chinese, the Chinese Protectorate was directly linked to the mui tsai (see Chapter 5). The findings also support Davis *et al.*'s (2000) assertion that, until the Federation of Malaya was reorganised in 1948, much of the welfare work was undertaken by voluntary organisations. The findings further suggest that social welfare services in Malaya was based on the British welfare ideas and practices, and a traditional

system of social welfare which the British could have depended on was absent in Malaya. This, too, concurs with the viewpoint of Davis *et al.* (2000), who attributed the reason for the colonial government consideration of the British welfare ideas and practices when resolving welfare issues in Malaya to the absence of a reliable traditional welfare system.

This research has also shown that an integrated relationship between the voluntary sectors and the government existed during 1946-1957. The government had relied heavily on the cooperation and support of the voluntary bodies. These findings concur with Midgley's (1981, 1997) views on the importance of the non-governmental sector, whereby the colonial government was content to let voluntary organisations cater for welfare needs of the colonised people while its own interventions were kept to a minimum.

Child welfare services and policy

During the period of study, the Children and Young Persons Ordinance (CYPO) (1947) was used as a guideline by the DSW to address issues relating to child welfare and to oversee the implementation of programmes involving the welfare of the children. Although the colonial government began to consider the welfare of the children, it is apparent that child welfare matters were regarded as a peripheral duty of the colonial government, which could account for the late establishment of the CYWSC (1950) in London, and the Children's Section in the DSW (1953).

The viewpoint of Crosson-Tower (2004) regarding the circumstances faced by children in the past and currently could illuminate the contribution of the current study.

She asserts that:

Many unresolved issues involving children and their families in the past century continue to plague us today such as poverty, inadequate health and mental health care, domestic violence, child abuse and neglect, and substance abuse. As a consequence, the need for preventive services and direct services for children will continue.

(Crosson-Tower, 2004: 16)

Britain certainly did not have all the answers to the welfare issues raised in colonial territories such as Malaya because, as pointed out in Chapter 2 and Chapter 6, each colony's development, historical circumstances, economic resources, and social structure were different from other colonies. Not only were the traditions of kinship and family life different from those in the West, they differed considerably from territory to territory (see Chapter 6).

As pointed out earlier, the colonial government did not have a definite welfare model that could be implemented in Malaya. Even until the end of their rule, the colonial administration had not drafted or documented any child welfare policy. It might be said that the Colonial Office's approach to matters pertaining to child welfare was to consider how its own nation dealt with similar experiences. As a result, the administrators resorted to implementing their own ideas and practices and, in some occasions, translating British welfare ideas and experiences to the Malayan context.

Thus, during 1946-1957, the colonial government practiced a residual approach to welfare and no definite policy of child welfare existed in Malaya. It can be argued

welfare of children, the government did not consider it urgent or critical to document a definite welfare policy for the Malayan children.

The research has revealed that, during the period of study, the DSW played a very significant role in the provision of welfare to the people of Malaya. However, since its beginning, the DSW has been placed under various ministries. Coupled with the ambiguity of the definition of “welfare”, the DSW was not able to successfully execute its responsibility.

As mentioned earlier, the current study is significant because it provides a sound knowledge base for policy makers within the context of social welfare development in Malaysia. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Midgley’s Social Welfare Model highlights the sort of relationship that exists between the colonial power and its colonies within the context of colonialism. The colonial power regarded issues of welfare in its colonies as peripheral, and accordingly, practiced the residual approach to welfare.

The provision of welfare targeted the needy groups of the colony and the role of voluntary agencies was not only supportive but significant as well. Within this “colonial-colony relationship”, the colonial welfare ideas and practices are diffused into the actions taken to resolve welfare issues in the colonies. Thus, within the findings of this study, Midgley’s implication to the relationship between a colonial power and a colony is upheld. Accordingly, it can be argued that, within the period of 1946-1957, the diffusion of the colonial power welfare ideas and practices in resolving the children welfare issues Malaya was unavoidable because of the absence of a definite child welfare policy. The construction of the child welfare policy would have made the services for the children in Malaya more constructive.

The colonial's administrative style towards welfare in Malaya during the period of study continued until the immediate years after independence and has apparently existed even until today, as argued by Doling and Omar (2002). Since 1957, programmes relating to children's welfare in terms of health care, better nutrition, education, and the judicial system have been established and reinforced further. However, there is still a need for the government to look at the laws, policies and regulations relating to this matter. Additionally, the government also need to consider implementing specialised units and developing experts within the DSW. Thus, it can be argued that these aforementioned steps would certainly require the government to investigate the development of the DSW since its inception.

It can be said that, generally, the post-independent government's approach towards welfare provision in Malaysia has not significantly changed from that during the British rule during the period of 1946-1957. In a sense, the post-independent social welfare policy is never fully elucidated by the pre-independent government. Nevertheless, Malaysia's post-independence policy is intent on enacting welfare policies according to the nation's multiethnic population because the tensions as well as the opportunities inherent in the ethnic mix have had a profound influence on the post-independence period shaping the Malaysian approach to welfare provision (Doling and Omar, 2002).

Currently, several laws pertaining to welfare and protection of children are in operation. The principle ones are the Children and Young Persons Act 1947 (revised 1980), the Juvenile Courts Act (1947), the Guardianship of Infants Act 1961, Adoption Act 1952 (revised 1981), Married Women and Children (Maintenance) Act of 1950

(revised 1981), the Child Protection Act (1991), and Women and Girls Act 1973 (Reddy, 1992; Shu, 1989). However, on 1st August 2002, the Child Act (2001), a combination of the Juvenile Courts Act (1947), the Child Protection Act (1991), and the Women and Girls Act (1973), was put into effect. This new legislation has established a Children's Court, formed interactive workshops, and placed a stronger emphasis on family and community sharing the responsibility of child welfare. Based on these Acts, together with their related guidelines and regulations, programmes and enforcement procedures to ensure that children's needs are met.

It should be pointed out that the abovementioned Acts had their roots in and were adapted from those introduced by the colonial administration and are still referred to by the Malaysian government. Thus, the study also supports the opinion that 'In very many states, existing legislation continues to reflect extensive colonial influence ... [and] ... In child welfare ... it is traditional law which embodies the pattern of responsibility for the care and protection of children' (MacPherson, 1987c: 165).

The post-independence government could learn from the experiences of the colonial government and thus achieve the aim of providing constructive child welfare services. Although the study had revealed that a Ministry of Welfare Services in Malaya was established in 1964 (see Chapter 5), it can be argued that the re-establishment of a Ministry of Social Welfare in Malaysia could have addressed the social welfare challenges in Malaya because within this ministry, various departments could have been formed to specifically manage the welfare of each identified needy group. Among these departments, there could be one that specialises in the welfare of the needy Malaysian children. The government could have then strengthened its role in coping with the

welfare issues of the children, who are living in a multiethnic, multicultural and multireligious country. If that was the case, then the Ministry of Social Welfare could have contributed to the specialisation of services, the strategic collaborations with non-government agencies, and the professional development of social welfare services.

In sum, post-independence social policy reconstruction as manifested in the New Economic Policy (NEP)¹ and Malaysian five year plan² and in Malaya was mainly aimed at trying to unify the three major ethnic groups and to form a common nationality. The Malaysian government cited the riot as the main cause of its more aggressive affirmative action policies, and hence the New Economic Policy (NEP), after 1969. The riot also forced the Malaysian government to fundamentally rethink its social policies so that the imbalance among the ethnic groups which had existed since the British rule could be rectified and overcome.

It should be pointed out that any scholar seeking to understand child welfare services in a country needs to consider the socio-cultural features because 'Generalisation is difficult and dangerous. No two parts of the world have experienced the same pattern of change' (MacPherson, 1987b: 68). With regards to children, owing to Malaysia's unique background, they are currently being brought up in accordance with their own ethnicity, customs and religion. This phenomenon was obviously a direct result of British colonialism in Malaya and is still a complex issue in modern Malaysia

¹ The NEP had two principal objectives: a reduction and eventual eradication of poverty, irrespective of race; and a restructuring of society so that identification of race with economic function would be reduced and ultimately eliminated. The NEP, ended in 1990, was then replaced by the National Development Policy (NDP) which continued the NEP's emphasis on balancing economic inequalities in society (Andaya and Andaya, 2001).

² The First Malaysia Plan began in 1966-1970 and currently Malaysia is in its Ninth Malaysian Plan (2006-2010) (EPU, 2006).

(Brennen, 1985). Despite 'many laws which in principle safeguard the welfare of the children in Malaya, the rights and needs of children are neglected in practice due to the nature of legislative and administrative forms' (MacPherson, 1987c: 164). MacPherson's (1987c) perspective suggests the complexity of child welfare during the period under study, especially as it involves issues of meeting the welfare needs of every ethnic group. Nevertheless, intense focus on indigenous issues in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957, and in recent years, has demonstrated that the problems of rights, status, and welfare are common to almost all indigenous populations in the post-colonial world.

One significant point to look at social welfare within the post-colonial period in Malaysia is the influence of religion. Islam, for example, plays a defining role in Malaysia's political process as well as in the design and interpretation of laws and policy at a federal and state level. An important concession to Islam has been the preservation of a two-tiered justice system. The federal government administers justice based on the common law system established by the British. Concurrently, the states are permitted to maintain independent *Syaria* court systems that rule on civil law, religious matters, and child welfare issues among ethnic Malays.

Future Studies

This study has covered one aspect of the very many issues that exist in the discipline of social work in Malaysia; that is, the social welfare policy for children. From this study, several areas may be identified as demanding future research, as outlined below:

- i. Study on the history and development of social work and social welfare services in Malaya from the voluntary agencies perspective to further support the findings within the current study that voluntary bodies' role was very significant during the colonial administration. Social workers and social policy researches could use the historical method to gain further insight into related issues pertaining to the sort of relationship between the government and the voluntary agencies in provision of welfare to the needy.
- ii. Study on the origin and development of other social welfare services, which targets other needy groups in Malaysia, such as older people, which would add to the historical and sociological knowledge of social welfare services in Malaysia. This study could use archival sources to uncover historical data that could illuminate or test relevant theories.
- iii. Study that examines issues that arose after independence (1957) on the provision of continuous social welfare services to other needy groups in Malaysia and the extent to which the government continued with colonial policy. Such a study would also provide historical and sociological knowledge regarding the colonial government's standpoint on welfare provision within colonialism.
- iv. Study on ethnic, religious and cultural differences during the pre-independent and the post-independent years to explain and identify the way different communities respond to social welfare services that exist within their own groups.

- v. Study on the issues and challenges faced by the DSW in administering and rendering welfare provisions to needy or marginal groups of people in Malaysia during post-independence era. The findings would be useful in supporting the functions of the DSW and making them more constructive.

Final Remarks

The results of this study were founded on the available primary and secondary sources collected from archives and other related institutions in Malaysia and the UK. However, the conclusions are an indicator of the link between the present system's social welfare services and its historical roots under British colonial administration. It can be argued that there are two over-arching themes: one is the relationship between the government and voluntary organisations at the level of planning and delivery of child welfare services; the second is the relationship between imported and indigenous thinking about childhood and childcare provision. The sources, constituting of historical data, has illuminated Midgley's (1987b) social welfare model.

It is hoped that the material presented within this thesis will bring to light the shortcomings and issues faced by DSW during 1946-1957, the years of its early establishment, and the effect the government agencies and voluntary bodies have on the current quality of social welfare services to children within Malaysia.

Apart from addressing a gap in knowledge concerning the growth of social welfare during the period of British administration (1946-1957), another original contribution of the thesis is correcting previous mistakes made by several publications (see Chapter 1). This thesis may also serve as a complete documentation of the origin

and development of social welfare services in Malaysia during the period of 1946-1957 and the origin and the establishment of children's homes in Malaysia. It constitutes an original and substantive contribution to the literature on the colonial governance and administration in Malaya.

Additionally, as a contribution to historical and sociological knowledge, it is conjectured that child welfare services in Malaya were first organized for the immigrant labours (see Chapter 5). This implies that the colonial government was more concerned with ensuring an efficient and healthy workforce. Thus, within the colonial context, the economic value of a colony is of more importance to the colonial power than the provision of welfare to the children of its colony.

This thesis concludes that, as argued in Chapters 7, 8 and 9, Malayan welfare policy enacted by the British colonial officials followed the British course in the importation of British welfare ideas and allowed voluntary bodies to provide welfare services for the children. Although the colonial government contributed to the development of child welfare services in Malaya during the period of 1946-1957, the implementation of the services did not follow any specific welfare model. Neither was it based on any definite social welfare policy that was particularly established for Malaya.

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October, 2006

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Supervision meeting

Steedman, C., 18 December 2003; 4 October 2004; 21 December 2004.

* The abbreviations used are based on the original ANM's List of Descriptions. Other abbreviations used are purposely created for the researcher's own convenience in the main texts and there do not appear in the ANM's List of Descriptions.

* The ANM alternately used Malaya and English in the file titles, such as JKM (*Jabatan Kebajikan Masyarakat*), or DSW (Department of Social Welfare)

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

List of Children's Institutions: Departmental Homes (13)

<i>Name of Institution & Year Established</i>	<i>Reasons for Admission</i>	<i>Type - Mixed or Separate</i>
KEDAH , Tanah Merah Welfare Camp, Jitra (1946) [also known as Jitra Camp & Destitute Camp]	Originally for refugees and displaced persons. Later destitutes, juvenile delinquents	Mixed
PERAK Children's Home, Kampar (1945)	Orphans	Boys and Girls
Sultan Abdul Aziz Malay Orphanage, Kuala Kangsar (1948)	Malay orphans, decrepit and destitute	Boys and Girls
SELANGOR Children's Home (1946)	Orphans	Boys
NEGERI SEMBILAN Children's Home, Seremban (1948)*	Originally for aged, infirm, destitute, blind and crippled (1948) blind and crippled children	Boys and Girls
Negeri Sembilan Welfare Home, Seremban	Blind and crippled children	Mixed
MALACCA Welfare Home, Mata Kuching		Mixed
KELANTAN Welfare Home, Kubang Kerian (1947)	Decrepit, blind, destitute and orphans	Mixed, later Men and Boys
Women & Children's Home, Pengkalan Chepa (1948)**	Decrepit, blind, destitute and orphans	Women and Girls
TERENGGANU , Dungun Orphanage (1947) and Children's Home***	Orphans	Boys/Girls
Destitutes' Home, Kuala Terengganu **** (1946)	Orphans, destitute, homeless and disabled	Mixed
JOHORE , Children's Home, Muar (1947)	Orphans and abandoned babies/children	Boys and Girls
State Welfare Home (1946)	Refugees Camp, destitute and disabled...later children	Mixed

Source: DSWARs (1946, 1947, 1948); FMARs (1949-1956)

Appendix 2

Grant-in-aid Homes (48)

<i>Name of Institutions & Year Established</i>	<i>Reasons for Admission</i>	<i>Types - Mixed @ Separate</i>	<i>Funded by Government @ Grant-in-Aid *</i>	<i>Sponsored /Run</i>
PERLIS, Sekolah Kedidekan	-	-	-	-
KEDAH, Decrepit Ward, Government Hospital at A/Setar, Sungai Petani & Kulim	Decrepit	Mixed	Controlled by Medical Department	-
PENANG Ramakrishna Orphanage (1938)	Orphans	Boys/Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	Ramakrishna Ashrama
Muslim Orphanage, Kampong Bahru (1942)	Orphans (Malays)	-	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Po Leung Kuk (1880) (Women & Girls protection)	-	Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	-
St. Nicholas Home (1938)	Blind and crippled	Boys/Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Salvation Army Boys' Home (1946)	Remand	Boys	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Convent Orphanage (1852)	Orphans & destitute children / motherless	-	Grant-in-Aid *	-
St. Francis Xavier's Orphanage (1928)	-	Boys	Grant-in-Aid (since 1946/1948)	-
St. Anne's Orphanage, Bukit Mertajam (1918) Matang Tinggi (Girls) & Machang Bubok (Boys)	Orphans	Boys/Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	-
St. George's Orphanage, Balik Pulau (1881)	Orphans & destitute	Boys/Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	-
St. Mark's Butterworth	-	-	-	-
Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus, Penang	-	-	-	-
St Joseph's Orphanage, Bukit Mertajam (1857)	Orphans	Boys	Grant-in-Aid	-
PERAK The Convent Orphanage & Creche (1907)	Orphans and destitute	Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Convent School, Taiping (1940 or 1947)	Orphans – poor & abandoned	Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Elim Home, Ipoh	-	-	-	-
Indian Children's Welfare Home, Taiping (1946)	Orphans & destitute families	-	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Salvation Army Girls' Home (1947)	Juvenile offenders, homeless & parents in prison / hospital	Women/Girls	-	-
St. Louis Orphanage, Taiping (Japanese Occupation)	Orphans	Boys	Grant-in-Aid * (since 1948)	-
Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus Orphanage, Taiping (1899)	Orphans (Chinese & Indian)	-	Grant-in-Aid *	-

Grant-in-aid homes (48)

<i>Name of Institutions & Year Established</i>	<i>Reasons for Admission</i>	<i>Types - Mixed @ Separate</i>	<i>Funded by Government @ Grant-in-Aid *</i>	<i>Sponsored /Run</i>
St. Joseph Orphanage Bagan Serai, Krian (1908)	Orphans, widows aged, infirm, destitute & homeless.	Mixed (Indian)	Grant-in-Aid *	Catholic Mission
St. Joseph's Orphanage, Batu Gajah (1935)	Abandoned	Boys/Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Taiping Boys' School (1947)	Approved	-	-	
SELANGOR Boys' Home	-	Boys	-	Salvation Army
Serendah Boys' Home/School (1946)	Orphans/Homeless	Boys	Grant-in-Aid *	Save the Children Fund
Chinese Relief Home, KL	-	-	Government fund	-
The Convent Orphanage & Babies Home	-	-	-	-
Choultry Home for Southern Indians				Financed by Indian Immigration Fund & Controlled by Labour Department
Sentul Convalescent Home	-	-	Controlled by Medical Department	-
MALACCA Boys' Jubilee Club	-	-	Grant-in-Aid	-
Chinese Decrepit Home, Malacca	-	-	-	Chinese Chamber of Commerce
Shellabear Hall, Tranquerah Road – prior (1905)	-	Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	Women of the Methodist Church of America
Sacred Heart Convent Orphanage (1895)	Ill-treated, neglected, unwanted orphans	-	Grant-in-Aid *	Canossian Nun
Home of Christian Brothers of St. Francis	-	-	-	-
Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus (French) (1860)	Orphans & disabled	-	Grant-in-Aid *	-
St. Francis Institution (1898)	Orphans	Boys	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Lorong Panjang Home (1945)	-	-	Grant-in-Aid *	Chinese Chamber of Commerce

Grant-in-aid homes (48)

<i>Name of Institutions & Year Established</i>	<i>Reasons for Admission</i>	<i>Types - Mixed @ Separate</i>	<i>Funded by Government @ Grant-in-Aid *</i>	<i>Sponsored /Run</i>
NEGERI SEMBILAN , Seremban Relief Camp (1947)	Aged, infirm, destitute, blind & crippled & children	Mixed	Government funds	-
Convent Creche	Unwanted children	-	-	-
Convent Orphanage	-	-	-	-
Convent of the Holy Infant Jesus	Orphans	Girls	Grant-in-Aid *	-
Ulu Gadong Children's Home (1941)	Orphans	Boys	Grant-in-Aid *	-
KELANTAN , Kota Bharu Nursery	-	-	Grant	-
Destitutes Home, Kota Bahru	-	Mixed	Government fund	-
JOHORE , Relief Camp Johore Bahru	-	-	Government fund	-
Destitutes Home, Segamat	-	-	Government fund	-
St. Joseph's Orphanage 1938	Destitute & orphans	Boys/girls	Grant-in-Aid	-

Source: DSWARs (1946, 1947, 1948); FMARs (1949-1956)
* Unless otherwise stated, all institutions received grant-in-aid since 1948

Appendix 3

The Interview Sessions

A. Interview session dates

Participants	Dates
EWO 1	20/8/2003
EWO 2	21/8/2003
EWO 3	24/8/2003
EWO 4	12/7/2003 (telephone) 14/7/2003
EWO 5	21/7/2003 14/8/2003
AO	21/8/2003

B. Biodata of the participants

Participants	Length of experience	Current work/post	Area of work	Education (Local)	Education (Overseas)
EWO 1	More than 15 years	Various NGOs	i. Health ii. Probation iii. Admin	i. University of Malaya (Dip. in Soc. Studies)	i. LSE (Dip. in Soc. Planning) ii. LSE (M.Sc in Soc. Planning)
EWO 2	Less than 15 years	NGO	i. Youth ii. Admin	i. University of Malaya (Soc. Science Studies)	i. LSE (Cert. in Soc. Science)
EWO 3	Less than 15 years	-	i. Children ii. Admin	-	i. LSE (Cert. in Soc. Science – rural aspect)
EWO 4	Less than 15 years	Various NGOs	i. Admin	-	i. LSE (Cert. in Soc. Science)
EWO 5	More than 15 years	NGO	i. Children ii. Admin	-	i. LSE (Cert. in Soc. Science) ii. LSE (Cert. of the Central Training Council in Child Care)
AO	More than 15 years	Admin	Research	i. University of Malaya	-

The participants in the sample were aged between 42 to 80 (in 2003). During the interview sessions, the participants were asked for biographical details about themselves, their age, length of time of their involvement in social work and/or archival work, their

duties and area of practice and working experiences. Additional information was obtained personally from the participants (gained approval to include this information), the archival sources, and from the MASW (undated).

C.1. Interview guide (EWO)

i. Academic Qualifications

- a. How were you chosen as one of the candidate to pursue studies in (LSE)?
- b. What were the subjects learned at LSE (theory or practical)?
- c. Were there any specific areas on children?
- d. Do you have any particular study experiences in England?

ii. Services (working experiences) at the DSW

- a. What were the important social welfare issues during this time?
- b. What were your specific duties?
- c. How did you come to be a child care worker in the DSW?
Did you have any particular (personal) interests in children at that time?
- d. How were the children's cases handled? Were there any references made to the departmental policies, based on individual or on experiences at the LSE?

iii. British Colonial Policy

- a. Any experience / meeting with British officers?
- b. How did the British expatriates treat the local officers?
- c. To what extent were the locals involved in decision-making?
- d. What do you think of social welfare during this time, in general?

C.2 Interview guide (ANM)

- a. When was the first ANM Annual Report published?
- b. How is the List of Descriptions arranged?
- c. Are there efforts to collect national historical sources and to what extent are these efforts carried out?
- d. Issues on historical materials / sources related to DSW:
 - gaps (historical materials / sources)
 - materials cannot be traced
 - arrangement of materials / sources in the List of Accessions
 - issues on the relocation of DSW
 - the files (old records) removed / destroyed
 - the material preservation
- e. What are your views on the (historical) establishment of ANM? What is its role?
- f. Is ANM facing issues of manpower? Workload?
- g. What is the budget for ANM like?
- h. Have you experience of any administratives issues of ANM? What are they?

Appendix 4

Background of CSWOs in Malaya (1946-1957)

***Harvey, J.A. (b.1900)**

Ed. Christs Coll., Christchurch, N.Z., Otago, Univ. Coll, Dunedin, N.Z., and Camb. Univ., M.A. (N.Z), B.A. (Cantab.); on mil. serv. 1942 and 1945; cadet, FMS, 1925; passed cadet, 1927; sec. to res., Pahang, 1930; dist. offr. Temerloh, Pahang, 1933; dist. rict Officer, Kota Bahru and state treasury, Kelantan, 1934; Collr., land revenue, Penang, 1938; Chief Assitant District Officer, Kinta, Perak, 1939; o/c lands and mines department; N.P., Nig. 1942; B.M.A., Mal., 1945; comsnr. lands, S'pore, 1949; staff offr., gr.A, 1950; ag. Br. Advr., Pahang, 1953.

Rawson, C. P. (b.1900)

B.Sc (econ.) hons., M.Sc (soc.), Ph.D. of Econ., Lond. Univ., and Reading Univ.; on R.A.F. serv.; F/O, R.A.F.V.R. (T.); apptd. 1921; ch.soc.welf.offr. Mal., 1947; prin.del of M.U. to S.E.Asia, soc.welf.confce., S'pore., and advsr, M.U.del.I.L.O. prep.confce., New Delhi, 1947; author of theses on soc.psych. and sociology.

Date of First Appointment as CSWO: 18.6.1947

Date of Arrival in Malaya: 17.6.1947

Remarks: On three years' agreement

McDoull, J.C. (b.1912)

Ed. Monkton Combe Sch. and Jesus Coll., Camb.; R.N.V.R., 1939-45; cadet, H.K., 1934; asst. sec., Chinese Affrs., 1936; and asst.labr.offr. 1945; soc.welf.offr., 1947; ch.soc.welf.offr, Malaya, 1952; sec., junk enq. Comsn., H.K., 1937.

Date of First Appointment: 20.10.1952

Date of Arrival in Malaya: 20.10.1952

Remarks: Hong Kong (1934-52), Mandarin, Cantonese

Sources:

The Colonial Office List 1951, 1953, 1954

Malayan Establishment Staff List, 31st December 1947.

Malayan Establishment Staff List, 1st January 1953.

Notes:

- 1) As indicated in Chapter 5, Harvey was appointed to act as the CSWO in 1946-1947, however there is no information found in the abovementioned sources, which referred to this.
- 2) The abbreviations used here are given as they appeared in the sources.